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ABSTRACT

This bibliography is intended both for the researcher and for the occasional student of international language problems, particularly as these relate to the international language Esperanto. The book is divided into two main sections: Part One deals with problems arising from communication across national boundaries and the search for a solution and Part Two focuses on Esperanto. Basic texts, bibliographies and brief abstracts of literature in the field are included in each of the main sections. The following topics in particular are covered: (1) international language problems; (2) factors involved in the search for a constructed language, specifically interlinguistics, feasibility, linguistic aspects, and history; (3) the Esperanto language, including a discussion of its structure and grammar, lexicology, dictionaries and usage; (4) Esperanto as a social phenomenon dealing principally with history and culture, organization and international meetings; (5) Esperanto literature; and (6) Esperanto in the schools, in science, in international organizations, and projections for the future. The text concludes with practical advice to the student. (AMH)

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ESPERANTO AND INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE PROBLEMS: A RESEARCH BIBLIOGRAPHY

by Humphrey Tonkin

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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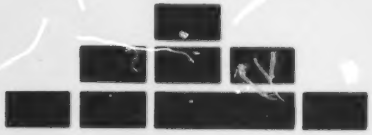

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INTRODUCTION

This bibliography is intended both for the serious researcher and for the occasional student of international language problems, particularly as these relate to the International Language Esperanto. First published in 1967 as a brief guide to the field, the bibliography has grown from edition to edition, and for the fourth edition has been largely rewritten. Users will find that there are particularly extensive sections on the literature of Esperanto, a topic given little attention in earlier editions, and that the sections on the present organization of the Esperanto movement have been much expanded. Much of this improvement and expansion is due to the many valuable comments received from users of the earlier editions of the bibliography, and to Professor Jonathan Pool, Mr. Charles Power and Mr. Alec Venture, who read versions of the present text and offered many helpful suggestions.

Esperanto studies is a growing field, and the relative success of earlier editions of this bibliography may be evidence of this. It is to be hoped that other scholars will help to open up what is potentially an important area of study, still largely neglected by linguists and students of international relations.

Humphrey Tonkin
University of Pennsylvania
February 1977

ABBREVIATIONS

ACTFL	American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages
BEA	British Esperanto Association
CAL	Center for Applied Linguistics
CRD	Centro for Research and Documentation on the World Language Problem
DEF	Dansk Esperanto-Forlag
ED	*Esperanto Documents*
EFE	Esperantaj Francaj Eldonoj
ELNA	Esperanto League for North America
EPC	Esperanto Publishing Company
ESAA	Esperanto Studies Association of America
ESF	Esperantic Studies Foundation
FLE	Federacio de Laboristaj Esperantistoj
HEA	Hungara Esperanto-Asocio
LMLP	*La Monda Lingvo-Problemo*
LPLP	*Language Problems and Language Planning*
LPN	*Language Planning Newsletter*
MLA	Modern Language Association of America
NCTE	National Council of Teachers of English
NLR	*Nica Literatura Revuo*
PEA	Pola Esperanto-Asocio
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
SAT	Sennacieca Asocio Tutmonda
SUK	Someraj Universitataj Kursoj
TEJO	Tutmonda Esperantista Junulara Organizo
UEA	Universala Esperanto-Asocio

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Part I. The Problem and the Search for a Solution

Basic Texts

1. Although there are many books on language, few deal at any length with the general problems arising from communication across national boundaries. Mario Pei's *One Language for the World* (1958; rpt. New York: Biblo and Tannen 1968, and New York: Parents' Magazine, 1970), is a good place to start. Pei's book surveys the language problem, and also the search for a solution, in readable and instructive form. His shorter study *Wanted: A World Language* (Public Affairs Pamphlet 434 [1969], available from ELNA) is more up-to-date. Two CRD Documents are especially recommended: Ivo Lapenna, *The Language Problem in International Relations* (CRD A/II/5, rev. ed. 1972) and G. F. Makkink, *The World Communication Problem* (CRD A/II/3, 1970). CRD Documents are distributed in the United States by ELNA or can be obtained from UEA. See also Andrew Boyd, "Babel Still Stands," *Vista*, 6 (1970), 35, 54-5; Mario Pei, "One World? One Language?", *Modern Language Journal*, 31 (1947), 11-14, and the report of the Symposium on "The Problem of Linguistic Communication in the Modern World," *LMLP*, 3 (1971), 129-76. Still useful, though outdated in details, is E. D. Durrant, *The Language Problem: Its History and Solution* (Rickmansworth: EPC, 1943).

2. But a proper understanding of international language problems requires some knowledge of the processes involved in the relationship among languages. Joshua Whatmough's *Language: A Modern Synthesis* (New York: St. Martin's, 1956) provides a good introduction. See especially his chapter "Bilingual, Multilingual and Interlingual Communication." Although it devotes little attention to the problem of one world language, the summer 1973 issue of *Daedalus*, reprinted as *Language as a Human Problem*, ed. E. Haugen and M. Bloomfield (New York: Norton, 1974), will give the advanced student some idea of the scope of the field. Haugen's own article "The Curse of Babel," though it proposes bilingualism as a solution and is generally skeptical, is especially valuable.

3. Whatmough's topic is not just language problems but language in general. There are of course numerous introductory works on language itself, such as E. Sapir's classic *Language* (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1921), a particularly good starting-point. For an introduction to linguistics see Archibald Hill, ed., *Linguistics Today* (New York: Basic Books, 1969) or S. H. Elgin's readable *What is Linguistics?* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973). Semantics is the subject of S. I. Hayakawa's *Language in Thought and Action*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972). E. T. Hall, in *The Silent Language* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1959) explores the influence of culture on the process of communication.

4. The 15th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1974) includes a good article on linguistics by J. Lyons, though with only brief attention to applied linguistics. Fuller treatment is provided in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. D. L. Sills (New York: Macmillan, 1968), and the *Encyclopedia of Linguistics, Information and Control*, ed. A. R. Meetham (Oxford: Pergamon, 1969), which includes extensive bibliographies. A handy guide to the terminology and bibliography (not, however, of Esperanto and interlinguistics, on which it says little) is R. R. K. Hartmann and F. C. Stork, *Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* (New York: Wiley, 1972).

5. The search for an international language or for some other solution to the language problem has taken many forms over the years. In fact it has given rise to a whole branch of linguistics — interlinguistics. Jacob Ornstein provides a brief history of language projects in his "Passport from Babel," *Texas Quarterly*, 3 (1960), and there is a good introductory section on the search for an international language in David Wallechinsky and Irving Wallace, *The People's Almanac* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1975). For other solutions to language problems see our discussion of translation (ch. 1), national languages in international use (ch. 1) and interlinguistics (ch. 2).

6. Among the numerous periodicals likely to be of interest to the student of language problems, special mention should be made of *La Monda Lingvo-Problemo* (*LMLP*) and its successor *Language Problems and Language Planning* (*LPLP*), which publishes articles in the major languages with summaries in Esperanto. Also useful (particularly for its reviews) is *Language in Society*. See also the new *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. Two newsletters provide current information, details of new publications, and so on. They are the *Linguistic Reporter* (of the CAL) and *Language Planning Newsletter* (*LPN*). Abstracts of current articles are published in *Language and Language Behavior Abstracts*, and there are occasional items of interest in *Peace Research Abstracts Journal*.

Bibliography

7. Several of the Basic Texts mentioned above contain good general bibliographies, but compilations relating specifically to language problems are harder to come by. H. Tonkin, "Language Problems in International Relations: A Select Bibliography," *International Language Review*, No. 44-45 (1965-6), 25-30; No. 46-47 (1966), 26-31; No. 48-49 (1966-7), 12-17, is largely superseded by the present bibliography, but includes items not listed here. See also A. Pietrzyk, *Selected Titles in Sociolinguistics* (Washington: CAL, 1965), and the excellent bibliographies in Dell Hymes, ed., *Language in Culture and Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964).

8. Two annual bibliographies list new titles in all fields of linguistics: *Linguistic Bibliography* (Utrecht and Antwerp: Spectrum) and the *MLA International Bibliography* (New York: Modern Language Association of America). On language teaching and related questions see the *Annual Bibliography of Books and Articles on Pedagogy in Foreign Languages* (New York: ACTFL).

9. Particularly for studies published in the 1960's see Aleksandra K. Wawrzyszko, *Bibliography of General Linguistics* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon, 1971) and *A Language-Teaching Bibliography*, 2nd ed. (London: Cambridge U. Press, 1972). Harold B. Allen, *Linguistics and English Linguistics*, a Goldentree Bibliography (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1966), is inadequate on interlinguistics, but has helpful sections on such areas as psycholinguistics, semantics, sociolinguistics, bilingualism and translation.

10. The student of interlinguistics will find several relevant items in the bibliographical section of Part II of this bibliography.

Chapter 1: International Language Problems

1. The Underlying Processes

11 There is much more to human communication than those processes we commonly call language. Human beings communicate through touch, gesture, signs, even through the institutions they create. And even those media of communication which employ language have their social, cultural and political implications as well. Colin Cherry, *On Human Communication* (Cambridge, Mass.: Technology Press, 1957) explores the theoretical basis of the subject, and K. K. Sereno and C. D. Mortensen provide an introductory reader, *Foundations of Communication Theory* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970). Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Doubleday, 1959) explores the dynamics of human encounters, and R. L. Birdwhistell studies human gesture in *Kinesics and Context* (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1970).

12 Psycholinguistics is the study of the relationship between language and psychological and mental processes. It is important to the student of language problems because it touches on such matters as bilingualism and the learning of languages. The best introductory texts are probably G. A. Miller, *Language and Communication*, rev. ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1963), James Deese, *Psycholinguistics* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1970), and Joseph F. Kess, *Psycholinguistics: Introductory Perspectives* (New York: Academic Press, 1976). On a related subject see E. Lenneberg, *The Biological Foundations of Language* (New York: Wiley, 1967).

13 The term "bilingualism" covers two separate fields: that of bilingualism in the individual and that of bilingualism in society. W. F. Mackey provides a general survey in *Bilingualism as a World Problem* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1967) and is editor of an *International Bibliography on Bilingualism* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1972). See also John Macnamara, ed., "Problems of Bilingualism," *Journal of Social Issues*, 23 (1967), 1-135; J. A. Fishman, *Language in Sociocultural Change* (Stanford: Stanford U. Press, 1972), and W. E. Lambert and G. R. Tucker, *The Bilingual Education of Children* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1970). On bilingualism in specific countries see section 4, below.

14 Language learning also has two separate aspects: the acquisition of a first language — the process whereby a child learns to talk — and the later acquisition of second languages. On the first aspect, see the article on Language Development in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (see Basic Texts) and S. M. Ervin and W. R. Miller, "Language Development," in J. A. Fishman, ed., *Readings in the Sociology of Language* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), pp. 68-98. For more extended reading see J. Piaget, *The Language and Thought of the Child* (Cleveland: Meridian, 1955) or Joseph Church, *Language and the Discovery of Reality* (New York: Vintage, 1966). On the second aspect a good beginning-point is the article by Peter Strevens, "Second-Language Learning" in Haugen and Bloomfield, *Language as a Human Problem* (see Basic Texts). See also Paul Christophersen, *Second-Language Learning: Myth and Reality* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973) and W. G. Moulton, *A Linguistic Guide to Language Learning* (New York: MLA, 1966).

15 Sociolinguistics deals with language in its social setting—a matter of obvious interest to the student of international language problems. Helpful introductions to the field are provided by Peter Trudgill, *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1974)

and J. A. Fishman, *Sociolinguistics: A Brief Introduction* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1971). Uriel Weinreich's *Languages in Contact* (New York: Linguistic Circle of New York, 1953) is the classic study of its subject. See also Fishman's *Readings* (mentioned above) and the introductory readings in J. B. Price and J. Holmes, ed., *Sociolinguistics* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1972). The *Sociolinguistics Newsletter* is a useful source of information on current developments.

16. When communication takes place across a linguistic boundary, it may take place in one or other of the languages in question (in which event the issue of language choice arises) or it may take place through some third language (a language of wider communication: see section 3, below — or a constructed language), or it may take place indirectly, through translation or interpretation. Translation has been studied fairly extensively, for example by Eugene Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating* (Leiden: Mouton, 1964) and J. C. Catford, *A Linguistic Theory of Translation* (London: Oxford U. Press, 1965); Nida has a good bibliography. There is also a good bibliography in Reuben Brower, ed., *On Translation* (New York: Oxford U. Press, 1959). A more philosophical approach to the subject is taken by George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (London: Oxford U. Press, 1975). On mechanical translation, see the essay by Martin Kay, "Automatic Translation of Natural Languages," in Haugen and Bloomfield (see Basic Texts). The periodical *Babel* carries articles on translation and related questions, including the practicalities of commercial translating. On commercial translation, see Michael L. Johnson, "Translators Bridge Industry's Language Gap," *Industry Week*, February 9, 1976, pp. 35-38, and Serge Raffet, "The World of Translation," *Computers and People*, 24 (1975).

17. Bound up with the question of language choice is that of linguistic discrimination. Racial, religious and sexual discrimination are common enough concepts, and we readily recognize the evils that lie behind them. But less attention has been given to an equally insidious phenomenon, that of discrimination on the basis of the language a person speaks. One of the earliest writers to recognize the phenomenon was A. L. Guérard, who in "International Language and National Cultures," *American Scholar*, 10 (1941), 170-83, attacked the advocates of worldwide English on grounds of cultural imperialism. He returned to the subject in his *Europe Free and United* (Stanford: Stanford U. Press, 1945). Mario Pei looks at the subject anew in *The Story of Language* (New York: Mentor, 1949). The youth section of UEA, TEJO, publishes studies of linguistic discrimination and related topics from time to time. See, for example, the report of the seminars "Language and Decolonization" and "The Role of Language in Political Suppression" (The Hague: TEJO, 1976) and that of the seminar "Language and Society" (The Hague: TEJO, 1976); all are available also in English. Language as an element in international tensions is discussed by K. W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1953). See also Stanley Rundle, *Language as a Social and Political Factor in Europe* (London: Faber and Faber, 1946). Readers of French will find Louis-Jean Calvet's *Linguistique et colonialisme* (Paris: Payot, 1974) provocative and suggestive. On other aspects of linguistic discrimination see Lins (156) and Tamers (21).

2. Language Problems in International Relations

18. There is a dearth of good studies in English on the language problems of large international organizations. Lapenna touches on the question in *The Language Problem in International Relations* (see Basic Texts), but his fullest studies are in two articles in French, "La situation juridique des langues sous le régime des Nations Unies," *LMLP*, 1 (1969), 87-106, and "La situation juridique des 'langues officielles' avant la fondation des

Nations Unies," *LMLP*, 1 (1969), 5-18. On efforts to introduce Esperanto into the League of Nations and the U. N., see Chapter 6, below.

19 Language problems in international meetings are the subject of H. Shenton's *Cosmopolitan Conversation* (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1934), and the problems of nongovernmental organizations are exemplified in the Report of the Language Policy Task Force (August 1973) of the World Council of Churches (Geneva). Imre Szenes, in *Hungarian Trade Union News*, No. 12 (December, 1974), reports on a Hungarian proposal for the adoption of Esperanto as a means of communication among trade unionists. The periodical *International Associations* (Brussels: Union of International Associations) carries occasional items on language, and UIA's *Yearbook of International Organizations* lists working languages. The principal scholarly periodical in the area, occasionally containing relevant articles, is *International Organization*, which covers all types of international organizations, multinational corporations, and so on.

20 On language in diplomacy see Alexander Ostrower, *Language, Law and Diplomacy* (2 vols., Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1965) and R.L. Harry, "The Language Problem in Diplomacy," *LMLP*, 1 (1969), 49-61, and on the problems of language and national development see Jonathan Pool, "National Development and Language Diversity," *LMLP*, 1 (1969), 140-56, rpt. J.A. Fishman, ed., *Advances in the Sociology of Language*, vol. 2 (The Hague: Mouton, 1972). We know of no scholarly studies of language problems in international business, though this is an area of growing concern. On commercial translation, however, see 17, above.

21 One of the principal factors behind the search for a constructed language for international use has been the language problem in science. See, for example, L. Couturat and others, *International Language and Science* (London: Constable, 1910). The problem has two aspects: the question of the standardization of scientific terminology, and the question of communication among scientists. On the first see Eugen Wüster's important study *Internationale Sprachnormung in der Technik* (3rd ed., Bonn, 1970), published in Esperanto as *Konturoj de la Lingvonormigo en la Tekniko* (1936; rpt. Aabyhøj: DEF, 1975), and Zygmunt Stoberski, "Guidelines for the Adoption of New Scientific and Technical Terms," *Babel*, 21 (1975), 16-20. On the second, M. A. Tamers draws attention to the linguistic inadequacies of American scientists in "The Language Gap: Must We All Speak English?", *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, March 1971, 38-40.

3. National Languages in International Relations

22 The establishment of direct communication across linguistic boundaries necessitates either the learning of another language or the imposition (at varying levels of friendliness) of one's own language on others. Learning another language in turn requires investment in languages in the educational system — and a decision as to what languages should be taught. Some (among them Haugen: see Basic Texts, above) favor a kind of worldwide bilingualism, whereby all educated people would ideally have at their disposal one language of wider communication, though not necessarily the same one. Others maintain that English should be established as *the* second language for all, and there are some who make similar claims for other languages.

23 In English-speaking countries there is both advocacy of English as a world language and anxiety about the pervasive unilingualism of so many educated people, particularly in Britain and America. The latter viewpoint is presented in W.R. Parker's *The Language Curtain and Other Essays on American Education* (New York: MLA, 1966). See also Tamers (section 2, above) and James W. Dodge, ed., *The Case for Foreign-Language Study: A*

Collection of Readings (New York: MLA, 1971). A report by the Esperantic Studies Foundation, *The American Lag in Solving the Language Problem* (Washington, D. C.: ESF, 1969) is particularly helpful; and see also Mortimer Graves, "The Language Barrier to International Understanding," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 250 (1947), 12-16, which surveys alternative solutions before settling for multilingualism.

24. The current state of English is surveyed by Randolph Quirk, *The English Language and Images of Matter* (London: Oxford U. Press, 1972); see also the newsletter of the English-Speaking Union (16 East 69th Street, New York, NY 10021), *English Around the World*. There are numerous works extolling the virtues of English, either as a medium of worldwide communication or for its intrinsic virtues. See, for example, Lincoln Barnett, *The Treasure of Our Tongue* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1966); Anthony Burgess, *Language Made Plain*, rev. ed. (London: Fontana, 1975), and H. L. Mencken's classic *The American Language*, 4th ed. (New York: Knopf, 1936), particularly the chapter on "The Future of the Language." Mario Pei takes a more skeptical view in *The Story of English* (1952; rpt. New York: Fawcett, 1965). An issue of *LMLP* — 3 (1971), 129-92 — devoted to "The Problems of Linguistic Communication in the Modern World" includes a plea for language-learning and for English by W. Macmillan, "English as a Language of Wider Communication" (pp., 135-44). On English as the language for Europe, see Alf Sommerfelt's chapter "An Auxiliary Language" in his *Diachronic and Synchronic Aspects of Language* (The Hague: Mouton, 1962).

25. There are numerous studies of the state of English or English teaching in particular parts of the world. See, for example, V. K. Gokak, *English in India* (Hyderabad: Ranganath Press, 1961); John A. Brownell, *Japan's Second Language* (Champaign, Ill.: NCTE, 1967); John Spencer, ed., *The English Language in West Africa* (London: Longman, 1971). But, as an antidote to optimism see H. E. Sollenberger, "Does Everybody There Speak English?", *PMLA*, 77 (1962), 23-27. Ali A. Mazrui in *The Political Sociology of the English Language: An African Perspective* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975) emphasizes the essentially discriminatory and imperialist aspect of the wider use of English.

26. The worldwide spread of English was the main motive behind the creation of Basic English some forty years ago — a pared-down version of the language designed to be learned easily. Basic English no longer commands much attention from serious scholars: its inherent ambiguities make it hard to use and understand and it does not of course solve the problem of linguistic discrimination. C. K. Ogden's books on Basic English include *Basic English* (London: Kegan Paul, 1930), *The System of Basic English* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1934), and *Basic English: International Second Language* (ed. E.C. Graham; New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968). All provide an introduction to its rules and grammar and give arguments for its adoption. See also I.A. Richards, *Basic English and Its Uses* (New York: Norton, 1943). Like Richards, Ogden, in *Debabelization* (London: Kegan Paul, 1931), argues the need for an international language before he turns specifically to advocacy of Basic English. The debate over Basic is conveniently summarized in a collection of the principal essays on the subject: Julia E. Johnsen, ed., *Basic English* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1944). On the problems of written English (something that Basic English does not tackle), see J. Vachek, *Written Language* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973) and R. E. Zachrisson, "Four Hundred Years of English Spelling Reform," *Studia Neophilologica*, 4 (1931), 1-69.

27. Most of the contributions calling for worldwide use of French, or German, or Russian are written, perforce, in their respective languages. See, for example, Robert Fenaux,

Discours sur la fonction internationale de la langue francaise (Liège: Sciences et Lettres, 1968). On Russian as a world language see E. R. Goodman, *The Soviet Design for a World State* (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1960), whose chapter on "World State and World Language" is also reprinted by Fishman, *Readings* (see section 1, above). There is less talk these days about the revival of Latin as an international language. The main arguments are set forth by W. A. Oldfather, "Latin as an International Language," *Classical Journal*, 16 (1921), 195-206, for other references see Stojan (Bibliography, Part II, below).

4. Regional and National Language Problems

28. The language problems of individual states are not a central concern of the present bibliography, though we should recognize that national language problems have international ramifications, and the problem of multilingualism is currently receiving sustained attention from scholars in many countries. One of the most fascinating questions in this connection is the relationship between language and nationalism, studied by Deutsch (see section 1, above); E. Haugen, "Dialect, Language, Nation," *American Anthropologist*, 68 (1966), 922-35; J. Fishman, *Language and Nationalism* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1973) and many others. For a historical perspective see R. Jakobson, "The Beginnings of National Self-Determination in Europe," *Review of Politics*, 7 (1945), 29-42 (rpt. Fishman, *Readings*: see section 1, above) and A. C. Woolner, *Languages in History and Politics* (London: Oxford U. Press, 1938). Esperanto speakers should also see M. Duc Goninaz, *Lingvoj, Gentoj kaj Lingva Politiko* (Liège: SUK, 1974).

29. The adoption of a national language in new states is the particular concern of R. B. LePage, *The National Language Question* (London: Oxford U. Press, 1964). See also Ali A. Mazrui, *Cultural Engineering and Nation-Building in East Africa* (Evanston: Northwestern U. Press, 1972), J. A. Fishman and others, ed., *Language Problems of Developing Nations* (New York: Wiley, 1968) and, on language planning: Punja Sloka Ray, *Language Standardization* (The Hague: Mouton, 1963); J. Rubin and B. Jernudd, ed., *Can Language be Planned?* (Honolulu: U. Press of Hawaii, 1971), and J. A. Fishman, ed., *Advances in Language Planning* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974). A framework for the study of multilingualism is provided by V. Vildomec, *Multilingualism* (Leyden: Sijthoff, 1963).

30. There are numerous studies of the language problems of particular states, the problems surrounding linguistic minorities in Europe and elsewhere (particularly Spanish speakers in the U. S. and French speakers in Canada), and the vexed question of the language of instruction in the schools of multilingual states. On linguistic minorities, see, for example, C. L. Boydell and others, *Critical Issues in Canadian Society* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971); R.D. Abrahams and R.C. Troike, *Language and Cultural Diversity in American Education* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1972); and the forthcoming issue of *LPLP*, "Language Problems and Language Planning in the British Isles." On the medium of instruction, see the report *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education* (Paris: Unesco, 1953). There are numerous later contributions on this subject, for example Jan Knappert, "The Problem of National Languages and Education in Africa," *LMLP*, 2 (1970), 21-37.

31. So many of the local and national problems of language turn on the question of literacy — a problem in turn exacerbated by linguistic diversity. Readers are referred to the article on literacy by H. H. Golden in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. On regional languages, trade languages and similar phenomena, see Robert A. Hall, *Pidgin and Creole Languages* (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell U. Press, 1966) and William J. Samarin, "Lingua Francas of the World," in Fishman, *Readings* (section 1, above).

Chapter 2. The Search for a Constructed Language

1. Interlinguistics

32. Interlinguistics can be variously described as (1) the study of the linguistic elements necessary to the formation of a constructed international language; (2) "the comparative study of different languages to establish common elements between them" (Hartmann and Stork), or (3) the study of the social, cultural and linguistic conditions necessary for the acceptance of a constructed international language. This third definition will be covered in section 2, "Feasibility." Here we shall be concerned primarily with the first.

33. Although the term interlinguistics has existed at least since 1911, we owe its classic definition to Otto Jespersen, whose essay with that title appeared in a small volume, *International Communication* (London: Kegan Paul, 1931), along with two other pieces: Edward Sapir's important study "The Function of an International Auxiliary Language" (rpt. in Sapir's *Culture, Language and Personality* [1949; rpt. Berkeley: U. of Calif. Press, 1956]) and H. N. Shenton's survey of the language barrier, "A Social Problem." Jespersen's essay is reprinted in his *Selected Writings* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1962).

34. Mario Pei summarizes the relevant terminology for discussion of the field in his *Invitation to Linguistics* (New York: Doubleday, 1965). While some of his assumptions are questionable, Georges Mounin, "Pseudo-Langues, interlangues et metalangues," *Babel*, 4 (1958), 91-102, also provides a very useful guide to interlinguistic terminology. See also Reinhard Haupenthal, "Was ist und zu welchem Zweck betreibt man Interlinguistik?" *LMLP*, 3 (1971), 65-69 and Eugen Wüster, "La terminoj 'esperantologio' kaj 'interlingvistiko'," *Esperantologio*, 1 (1949-55), 209-14.

35. The creation of international language *projects* has been going on for hundreds of years (see section 4, below), but of genuine constructed international *languages*, with a community of speakers and a living culture, there is only one, namely Esperanto. Rejecting Esperanto as the solution, a group of scholars founded in 1924 the International Auxiliary Language Association (IALA), which for twenty years worked at the definition of the characteristics of an ideal auxiliary language. The work of IALA attracted several eminent linguists, whose studies formed a valuable by-product of the Association's work (see section 2), but the final outcome of IALA's activities, Interlingua, has failed to have any great impact. See IALA's pamphlet *Some Criteria for an International Language and Commentary* (New York: IALA, 1937) and the "Memorandum on the Problem of an International Auxiliary Language," of Sapir, Bloomfield, Boas, Gerig and Krapp, in *Romanic Review*, 16 (1925), 244-58 (whose suggestions for research are in some cases still relevant).

36. On interlinguistics in general see H. Jacob, ed., *On the Choice of a Common Language* (London: Pitman, 1946), particularly those sections by Jacob himself; Paul Mitrovich, *An Essay on Interlinguistics* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1954); Alessandro Bausani, *Geheim- und Universalsprachen: Entwicklung und Typologie* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970); M. Monnerot-Dumaine, *Précis d'interlinguistique générale et spéciale* (Paris: Maloine, 1960) and R. Haupenthal's collection of (largely) translated essays by various specialists, *Plansprachen: Beiträge zur Interlinguistik* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976). Mario Wandruszka, *Interlinguistik: Umrisse einer neuen Sprachwissenschaft* (München: Piper, 1971) is written largely from the viewpoint of our second definition (see above).

37. Bibliographical information can be found in Haupenthal (1976) and in Dell Hymes, ed., *Language in Culture and Society* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964).

2. Feasibility

38. Most of those who argue that no constructed language will ever be accepted for international use do so on one of two grounds. Either they maintain that a constructed language will never be fully expressive, never have the nuances and shades of meaning of the national languages (see, for example, Simeon Potter, *Language in the Modern World* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960]); or they hold that political vested interests are too strong ever to permit agreement on a single neutral language. Otto Jespersen, *An International Language* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1928; abridged in *Selected Writings* — see above), considers the first objection particularly forcefully. So, too, does Isaac Goldberg, *The Wonder of Words* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1938). Goldberg devotes a well-argued chapter to international language, in which he disposes of many misconceptions about so-called artificial languages — pointing out that they are potentially not unlike the national languages already in existence. Both Jespersen and Goldberg also address a related question — the objection that a constructed language will lose its simplicity or break up into dialects if it is widely adopted.

39. Addressing himself to the political as well as the aesthetic issue, Ernest Pulgram, "An International Language — When?", *Modern Language Journal*, 32 (1948), 50-68, is less optimistic; and he also doubts whether a national language is likely to be adopted for worldwide use either. Equally pessimistic is Charles E. Whitmore, "The Problem of a Universal Language," *Scientific Monthly*, 71 (1950), 337-42. There are others who feel differently, judging that the increasing need for international communication, and an increasing sense of social justice, will lead ultimately to a neutral solution to what is now a vexed political situation. See, for example, Ivo Lapenna, "Reply to Mr. Macmillan's Report: The Case for Esperanto," *LMLP*, 9 (1971), 149-61. Two others who argue that the adoption of a neutral, constructed language is entirely feasible are Albert Guérard, "The Last Frontier: Language," *Southwest Review*, 34 (1949), 136-42, and Gaston Waringhien, "Le problème d'une langue auxiliare mondiale," *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, 19 (1960), 591-4.

40. Of the many discussions of the feasibility of a constructed international language, one of the earliest and best is W. J. Clark's *International Language: Past, Present and Future* (London: Dent, 1907), an articulate plea for Esperanto. A less satisfactory, though useful, survey of past efforts and the prerequisites of an international language is E. Sylvia Pankhurst, *Delphos: The Future of International Language* (London: Kegan Paul, n.d.).

41. Many of the objections to an international language are the product simply of ignorance, particularly about the present status of Esperanto. Hence several writers are concerned above all with the removal of prejudice. See, for example, Claude Piron's witty article, "Confession d'un fou européen," *Documents pour l'enseignement* (Brussels), 17/1 (1976). H. Tonkin, "Code or Culture? The Case for Esperanto," *Era* (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 4, No. 2 (1968), 5-21, takes issue with a number of writers on interlinguistics and discusses the cultural claims of Esperanto.

42. While skepticism and reservations about the feasibility of an international language have worried many, large numbers of eminent people through the years have spoken out in favor of such a solution. Isaj Dratwer has collected their statements on the subject in *Pri internacia Lingvo — Dum Jarcentoj* (Wembley: CRD, 1970). On public opinion polls (favorable for the most part), see B. D. Emmart, "Attitudes Towards the World-Language Problem as shown in Public Opinion Polls," *LMLP*, 3 (1971), 40-6, and "Attitudes Towards the World Language Problem as shown by Q. Methodology," *LMLP*, 4 (1972), 106-18, and Mario Pei, *Voices of Man* (New York: Harper, 1962), p. 132. See also C. K. Ogden, *Debabelization: With a Survey of Contemporary Opinion on the Problems of a Universal Language* (London: Kegan Paul, 1931), which advocates Basic English, and Björn Collinder's series of radio talks, *La Problemo de Lingvo Internacia* (Purmerend: Muusses, 1938).

43. Over the years, many learned bodies have reviewed the problem of the search for an international language, generally finding the idea at least feasible. F. L. Sack's report for the World Organization of the Teaching Profession, *The Problem of an International Language* (Washington, 1951), reviews national languages with a claim on internationality and a number of language projects. A report for the British Association for the Advancement of Science by that body's "Committee appointed to inquire into the Practicability of an International Auxiliary Language" recommends Esperanto or its then-popular variant Ido (*An International Auxiliary Language*, London, 1921) (cf. 220, below). See also Sir Richard Gregory's comments on this report and his emphasis on the need for a solution to the language problem, in "International Systems and Standards," *Nature*, 150 (1942), 620-22, and 155 and 207, below.

44. The German periodical *Interlingvistika Informa Servo* (Hamburg) concerns itself with questions relative to the adoption of an international language, particularly as regards Esperanto.

3. Linguistic Aspects of Projects for Constructed Languages

45. The most extensive study in English of the linguistic aspects of constructed languages, and among the most useful, is H. Jacob's *A Planned Auxiliary Language* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1947). See also N. A. McQuown's review of this work, in *Language*, 26 (1950), 175-85 (rpt. Hymes, 7). Also useful is Jacob's pamphlet *On Language Making* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1948). W. J. A. Manders, in *Vijf Kunsttalen* (Purmerend: Muusses, 1947) compares (in Dutch) Volapük, Ido, Esperanto, Occidental and Novial. Particularly recommended are S. S. Culbert's brief article "Remarks on the Semantic Structures of Certain Proposed Interlanguages," *Journal of Communication*, 5 (1955) and André Martinet's comments in *Actes du VIe Congrès Internationale des Linguistes* (1948), pp. 93-112 and 585-600. See also his review in the periodical *Word*, 8 (1952), 163-7. Also useful and provocative is W. A. Verloren van Themaat, "Whorfian Linguistic Relativism and Constructed Languages," *International Language Reporter*, No. 3, 15 (1969), 19-24.

46. The work of IALA (see above) and other serious study of interlinguistics in the 1920's and 1930's bore fruit in several important works on specific aspects of language. See for example C. K. Ogden's stimulating study *Opposition: A Linguistic and Psychological Analysis* (1932; reissued Bloomington: Indiana U. Press, 1967), which is a study of opposites in language (e.g. hard/soft, black/white, present/absent). An earlier work of

considerable importance is the collective volume *International Language and Science: Considerations on the Introduction of an International Language into Science* (London: Constable, 1910), which includes studies by L. Couturat ("On the Application of Logic to the Problem of an International Language") and Otto Jespersen ("Linguistic Principles Necessary for the Construction of an International Auxiliary Language . . ."). Among the more interesting of projects from a linguistic point of view is Lancelot Hogben's *Interglossa* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1943).

4. History

47. So numerous have been the attempts over the years to solve the problem of language, and so many the intellectual currents that they have touched, that it is hard to know where to begin. Literally hundreds of projects have been published and many others have been mentioned or partially elaborated in print. In addition to them, but outside the scope of our present concerns, there have been dozens of fictional and imaginary languages. Jacob Ornstein's "Passport from Babel," *Texas Quarterly*, 3 (1960) provides a short and well-organized history of language projects. So, too, does Mario Pei, "Artificial Languages: International (Auxiliary)," in Thomas A. Sebeok, ed., *Current Trends in Linguistics*, vol. 12 (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), pp. 999-1017. See also Pei's *One Language for the World* (Basic Texts). J. R. Firth's chapter "Real Character and Universal Languages: Debabelization," in *The Tongues of Men* (1937; reissued London: Oxford U. Press, 1964) is both a survey of the history and a skeptical but intelligent consideration of the future. And see C. A. Ferguson, "Interlingua and Intermedia," *Linguistic Reporter* Supplement 3, April 1960.

48. The most extensive study of projects for an international language is still L. Couturat and L. Leau, *Histoire de la langue universelle* (1903; 2nd ed., Paris: Hachette, 1907), with its supplement *Les nouvelles langues internationales* (Paris: Hachette, 1907). See also Paulo Rónai, *Babel & Antibabel ou o problema das línguas universais* (São Paulo: Editôra Perspectiva, 1970) or its translation *Kampf gegen Babel* . . . (München: Ehrenwirth, 1969); an English translation is also promised. Pierre Burney's *Les langues internationales* (2nd ed., Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966) is misleading on many points but interesting if read with care, preferably in conjunction with Lapenna's criticism of the work (CRD A/IV/4, 1964). The best historical survey in English is A. L. Guérard, *A Short History of the International Language Movement* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1922).

49. In Esperanto the histories of language projects are understandably numerous — and of uneven quality. The most interesting and extensive is E. Drezen, *Historio de la Mondolingvo* (2nd ed. 1931; rpt. Oosaka: Pirato, 1967). See also G. P. DeBruin, *Historia Skizo de la Internacilingva Ideo* (Amsterdam: Asocio de Laboristaj Esperantistoj, n.d.) and Teo Jung, *De Muheddin ĝis Mundilatin* (Purmerend: Muusses, 1937). Also relevant is L. Ĵirkov's exploration of the relative success of Esperanto over other language projects, *Kial Venkis Esperanto?* (1931; rpt. Oosaka: Japana Esperanta Librokooperativo, 1974).

50. Specialized studies include G. A. Springer, *Early Soviet Theories of Communication* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Center for International Studies, 1956) and H. Jacob's pamphlet *Otto Jespersen: His Work for an International Auxiliary Language* (Loughton, 1943).

51. Among language projects we can define two broad categories: the *a posteriori* languages, such as Esperanto, based to a greater or lesser extent on existing languages (and covered in the works already cited), and the *a priori* or "philosophical" languages based on the logical classification and labeling of ideas, without recourse to existing languages. A third category is pasigraphy, or sign language: see Detlev Blanke's article "Pazigrafioj," *Esperanto*, 68 (1975), 133-5; R.A.S. Paget, "A World Language," *Nature*, 151 (1943), 80; Otto Neurath's project *International Picture Language: The First Rules of Isotype* (London: Kegan Paul, 1936), and Margaret Mead and Rudolf Modley, "Communication Among All People, Everywhere," *Natural History*, December 1967, pp. 56-63.

52. The great age of "philosophical" languages was the middle and late seventeenth century. The movement for the discovery of an ideal language, modelled after ideal philosophical categories, engaged many of the age's greatest minds, among them Descartes, Leibnitz and Comenius. The most extensive survey is by James Knowlson, *Universal Language Schemes in England and France, 1600-1800* (Toronto: U. of Toronto Press, 1975). Knowlson also provides detailed bibliographies. See also Jonathan Cohen, "On the Project of a Universal Character," *Mind*, 63 (1954), 49-63 and V. G. Salmon, "Language-Planning in Seventeenth-Century England," in C. A. Bazell et al., ed., *In Memory of J. R. Firth* (London: Longmans, 1966).

53. Several of the projects themselves have been reprinted, e.g. John Wilkins, *An Essay Towards a Real Character* (1668; Menston: Scolar, 1968) and Francis Lodowyck, *The Ground-Work of a New Perfect Language* (1652; Menston: Scolar, 1968). Excerpts from Sir Thomas Urquhart's *Logopandecteision* are included in *The Admirable Urquhart*, ed. R. Boston (London: Gordon Fraser, 1975). Lodowyck, or Lodwick, is the subject of a full-length study by Vivian Salmon, *The Works of Francis Lodwick: A Study of His Writings in the Intellectual Context of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Longmans, 1972). See also Barbara J. Shapiro, *John Wilkins 1614-72: An Intellectual Biography* (Berkeley: U. of Calif. Press, 1969) and M. Spinka, *J. A. Comenius, That Incomparable Moravian* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1943). Otto Funke studies Dalgarno and Wilkins in *Zum Weltsprachenproblem in England im 17 Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1929). Shorter studies include B. DeMott's two articles "The Sources and Development of John Wilkins' Philosophical Language," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 57 (1968), 1-13, and O. Funke, "On the Sources of John Wilkins' Philosophical Language," *English Studies*, 40 (1959), 208-14. The most extensive bibliography is R.C. Alston, *A Bibliography of the English Language from the Invention of Printing to the Year 1800*, Vol. 7: *Logic, Philosophy, Epistemology, Universal Language* (Bradford: the author, 1967).

Part II. The International Language Esperanto

Basic Texts

100. Users of this bibliography are likely to fall into two categories. First, there will be those interested in finding a practical answer to the problem of language — a problem which is not so much a question for linguists as for those concerned with international affairs, issues of war and peace, and the improvement of worldwide communication. Such people will probably turn directly to the final three chapters in this bibliography, where the history and achievements of Esperanto to date are described.

101. Others may be interested in Esperanto as a linguistic and cultural phenomenon. Sixty or seventy years ago it was not uncommon for scholars to assert that the concept itself of an international language was not a viable concept — that such a language would simply fail to convey meaning adequately, that it would fail to generate to itself a life of its own, and so on. With Esperanto nearly ninety years old and flourishing, this theoretical question is no longer an issue. Esperanto has survived and, at least for a limited number of speakers, it continues to flourish. We must ask ourselves why. What made Esperanto succeed where other language projects failed? How did the language move from the pages of a textbook into active and living reality? And what, today, are its strengths and limitations? While linguists may be particularly interested in examining the first chapter in this section — on interlinguistics — these questions are not merely, and perhaps not primarily, linguistic. They are social and cultural and historical.

102. The student wishing to gather together basic information about Esperanto would do best to start with the CRD Document *Basic Facts about the International Language Esperanto* (3rd ed., London-Rotterdam, 1972; the text also appears in *LML*P, 3 [1971], 164-173). Although encyclopedias are often unreliable, the 14th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* contains an excellent article by Marjorie Boulton (that in the 15th edition is less comprehensive), and H. Tonkin contributes the extensive article in the *Encyclopaedia Americana*, 1974 edition. Both articles deal with the structure of the language, its history and its present status. BEA publishes a valuable booklet *Esperanto: A First Foreign Language for All Mankind*, by Bernard Cavanagh (1968; available from ELNA). Also recommended are two booklets in the Scriptographic Series published by the Channing L. Bete Co., of Greenfield, Mass. *The ABC's of Esperanto* gives a simple introduction to the purposes and structure of Esperanto; *About Esperanto* (1972) contains a rather fuller presentation.

103. Many of Mario Pei's books include discussion of Esperanto and its claims, among them *Talking Your Way Around the World* (New York: Harper, 1961), *The World's Chief Languages* (New York: Vanni, 1960), *The Voices of Man* (New York: Harper, 1962) and *What's in a Word* (New York: Hawthorn, 1968). Jay E. Daily, in his excellent article "Language" in the *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Sciences*, vol. 14 (New York: Dekker, 1975), pp. 37-51, presents Esperanto in its linguistic context and assesses Esperanto's future as a means of international communication. See also D. B. Gregor, "The Cultural Value of Esperanto" (168), Affonso Henriques, "A Pandemonium of Languages," *Américas*, No. 11-12, Vol. 26 (1974), 25-9; E. James Lieberman's article "Esperanto Strives for International Acceptance," in Pan-American's *Clipper* magazine (October 1973); Eskil Svane, "The Case for Esperanto," *Quinto Lingo* (April 1968); William Auld, *Myth and Fact About Esperanto* (CRD, A/IV/7, 1964), and R.M. Caruana, "What Esperanto Is," *Incorporated Linguist*, 6 (1967), 39-41.

104. Perhaps the best introductory volume to Esperanto is in French: Pierre Janton, *L'espéranto* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1973). It is scholarly, accurate and readable. Also comprehensive, though with an individual point of view, is the German volume by Richard Schulz, *Mein geliebtes Esperanto* (Gerlingen-Stuttgart: Bleicher, 1976). English lacks texts as thorough or reliable as this, though George Allen Connor and others, *Esperanto, The World Interlanguage* (2nd ed., South Brunswick: Yoseloff, 1966) is helpful if used with care. Less balanced and objective, but quite widely available in libraries, is Joseph W. Dubin's *The Green Star* (Philadelphia: National Institute of Esperanto, 1944).

105. The reader with a knowledge of Esperanto will find the fullest and most authoritative account of its history and present status in Ivo Lapenna and others, *Esperanto en Perspektivo* (London and Rotterdam: CRD and UEA, 1974). Even the non-speaker, if willing to puzzle out its text, will find valuable statistical tables, bibliographies and other information in its nearly 900 pages. More current information appears in the UEA monthly magazine *Esperanto* and in the series published by UEA, *Esperanto Documents*.

106. UEA's *Esperanto Documents* appear in two series, in Esperanto and English. They include a brief but fairly comprehensive *Introduction to Esperanto Studies* by H. Tonkin (*ED* 6A, 1976), the best starting-point for the serious scholar. See also the occasional *Bulletin* of the Esperanto Studies Association of America. Also useful for the serious scholar with a knowledge of Esperanto is Paul Neergaard, "La Esperantologio kaj ties disciplinoj" in *Tra Densa Mallumo* (Kopenhago: Laborista Esperanto-Klubo, 1942), pp. 37-64.

107. The story of Zamenhof's quest for an international language is told in highly readable style by Marjorie Boulton in *Zamenhof, Creator of Esperanto* (London: Routledge, 1960). She also wrote the article on "Zamenhof" in the 14th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Her biography largely supersedes the *Life of Zamenhof*, by Edmond Privat (tr. Ralph Eliott, London: Allen and Unwin, 1931; rpt. Oakville, Ont.: Esperanto Press, 1963).

108. The early years of Esperanto are documented in A. L. Guérard, *Short History of the International Language Movement* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1922) and in Durrant's *The Language Problem: Its History and Solution* (see 1, above). Up-to-date information in English is most readily obtained from the *Documents* of CRD and UEA's *Esperanto Documents*. Guérard is also useful on language projects (see our ch. 2), as is Norman McQuown's article "International Languages" in the current edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

109. The most thorough Esperanto textbook is M. C. Butler's *Step by Step in Esperanto* (Rickmansworth: EPC, rev. ed. 1965). It is also useful for reference. William Auld's *Esperanto: A New Approach* (Brussels: Heroldo de Esperanto, 1965) is briefer and more intellectually demanding. Readily available is the popular *Teach Yourself Esperanto* by John Cresswell and John Hartley (London: English Universities Press, 1957). *A First Course in Esperanto* by William Auld (Greenfield, Mass.: Channing Bete, 1972) is an attractive and imaginative ten-lesson course with six cassette tapes. John Lewine and Alvino Fantini's *Home Study Course in Basic Esperanto* (New York, 1972) has been republished on tape by the Experiment in International Living (Brattleboro, Vt., 1975) under the title *EIL Esperanto*. Particularly recommended is a course designed for British radio by J. C. Wells, *Jen Nia Mondo* (London: BEA, 1975). There are several other courses on tapes and records; ELNA can supply lists. A less satisfactory textbook is Ivy Kellerman Reed, *Esperanto: A Complete Grammar* (Metuchen, N. J.: Scarecrow Press, 1968), which is

rather conservative in approach and not always reliable. Adventurous readers, and those anxious to entertain themselves as well as learn, are referred to *Winnie-la-Pu* (New York: Dutton, 1972), an Esperanto translation of A. A. Milne's children's classic. The volume includes a brief introduction to Esperanto (in English) and an extensive Esperanto-English vocabulary for beginners. On textbooks, see also 210-212, below.

110. Although there is no dictionary prepared specifically for Americans, J. C. Wells's two-way *Concise Esperanto and English Dictionary* (London: English Universities Press, 1969, a Teach Yourself Book) is excellent. Wells also provides a valuable introduction to the structure of Esperanto — a good place to start for those interested in linguistic aspects of the language. For those requiring fuller dictionaries the following are standard: M. C. Butler, *Esperanto-English Dictionary* (London: BEA, 1967) and F. Fulcher and B. Long, *English-Esperanto Dictionary* (rev. ed. Rickmansworth: EPC, 1963). The most comprehensive Esperanto-Esperanto dictionary, indispensable for major research libraries, is the 1300-page *Plena Ilustrita Vortaro de Esperanto*, ed. G. Waringhien (Paris: SAT, 1970).

Bibliography

111. Reinhard Haupenthal's *Enkonduko en la Librosciencon de Esperanto* (Nürnberg: Fickel, 1968) is a valuable discursive bibliography, essential for the serious student, and covering both Esperanto and interlinguistics. Also recommended, though incomplete and more difficult to use, are the bibliographies in Lapenna's *Esperanto en Perspektivo* (see above). Tonkin's *Introduction to Esperanto Studies* (see above) contains extensive bibliographical notes. See also the section on bibliography at the beginning of Part One; among the items listed there, the *Linguistic Bibliography* often carries items on Esperanto or interlinguistics.

112. The standard bibliography for the earlier years is P. Stojan's extensive *Bibliografio de Internacia Lingvo* (1929; rpt. Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1973), which covers language projects and interlinguistics as well as Esperanto (for bibliographies on earlier language projects see also section 2.4, above). For more recent years the best sources are the published catalogues of several large Esperanto libraries or collections, particularly those of the International Esperanto Museum in Vienna: *Alfabeta Katalogo pri la Kolektoj de Internacia Esperanto-Muzeo en Wien*, 2 vols. (Wien: IEMW, 1969-75); *Katalogo pri la Kolektoj de la Internacia Esperanto-Muzeo en Wien*, 2 vols. (Wien: IEMW, 1957-8). See also *Esperanto: Catalogus van de boekerij der Nederlandse Esperantisten-Vereniging. . .en van de Esperanto-collectie in de Universiteitsbibliotheek*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Universiteitsbibliotheek van Amsterdam, 1969), and *Katalogo de la Hungarlanda Esperanto-Biblioteko*, ed. György Gyuris (Szeged, 1967).

113. Details of current publications and other useful bibliographical information can be found in the *Bulletin* of ESAA (see 106, above), UEA's magazine *Esperanto*, and the occasional publication *Fokuso* (ed. E. Vilborg, Prästgårdsängen 23, Goteborg S., Sweden). *Fokuso* covers the bibliography of Esperanto and interlinguistics.

Chapter 3. Esperanto as a Language.

1. The Structure and Grammar of Esperanto

114. It can hardly be contested that most speakers of Esperanto have a program — the worldwide adoption of the International Language as a second language for all people. Their concerns are not so much linguistic as political and cultural, and the language itself is only a means to an end. While many Esperanto speakers maintain an abiding interest in language, for the most part they use the language much as they might use a national language — as a means of communication. Esperanto is in this sense a living language — a language whose unusual origins also make it interesting to linguists simply as a linguistic phenomenon.

115. Zamenhof's language was based on sixteen simple "rules" and a limited vocabulary. As the language began to be used, quite naturally it could hardly be described linguistically in terms of a mere sixteen prescribed rules; all language is infinitely more complex than that. Nor was it limited to the small number of lexemes — of roots — with which it began. In this chapter we shall look first at the grammar and structure of the language and then at the relation of Esperanto to other languages, its vocabulary, its usage, and its linguistic institutions. This will tell us something also about how Esperanto has grown and developed.

116. Interest in Esperanto as a linguistic phenomenon has grown among linguists in recent years, but most of the work on Esperanto has been published in the International Language itself, though several important studies have appeared also in national languages. There are few published sources in English, unfortunately. (For a basic introduction to Esperanto, see Wells, 110, above.) Among general works published in Esperanto on various aspects of the language, two are of special importance: K. Kalocsay, *Lingvo Stilo Formo* (1931; rpt., with corrections, Oosaka: Pirato, 1970) and Gaston Waringhien, *Lingvo kaj Vivo* (La Laguna: Regulo, 1959). Waringhien is also author of the French *ABC d'espéranto* (2nd ed., Paris: SAT-Amikaro, 1967).

117. Most of the general books on language available to the non-specialist English-speaking reader are weak and unreliable on the subject of Esperanto. On aspects of this problem see H. Tonkin (41, above).

118. Modern Esperanto has still to be subjected to full-scale linguistic analysis. The fullest study of its grammar and structure is *Plena Gramatiko de Esperanto*, by K. Kalocsay and G. Waringhien, first published in the 1930's (2nd ed., 2 vols., Milano: Esperanto-Propaganda Centro, 1958-64), of which a new edition will appear shortly. Both Rakuša (1970) and Szerdahelyi (1975) consider the linguistic structure in the course of their books on the teaching of Esperanto (see 6.2, below), and Pierre Janton, *L'espéranto* (104, above), devotes a useful chapter to the subject.

119. A concise and scholarly presentation of linguistic aspects of Esperanto — more an attempt to map the field than an effort to explore it in detail — can be found in E. Drezen, *Skizoj pri Teorio de Esperanto* (1931; rpt. Aabyhøj: DEF, 1975). See also R. P. Nogueira's structuralist study of Esperanto morphology "Características estruturais do Esperanto," *LMLP*, 2 (1970), 45-52, and Olav Reiersøl and R.C. Marble, "A Comparison between Word Formation in Esperanto and English," *Esperantologio*, 1 (1949-55), 53-58. (Some of the most interesting work on the structure of Esperanto can be found in the pages of the now-defunct *Esperantologio*.)

120. It will come as no surprise to discover that much of the most lively study of the language has arisen from linguistic controversy. The debate on aspects in the late fifties and early sixties led to K. Kalocsay's full study of tenses in Esperanto, *Vojaĝo inter la Tempoj* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1966), behind which lies a full literature of controversy, and recent years have seen a revival of the debate over morphology, triggered by I. Szerdahelyi's article "La Karaktero de Vortelementoj en Esperanto," *Literatura Foiro*, No. 23 (1974), 8-11, and No. 24 (1974), 5-9, which provoked a spirited reply by K. Kalocsay, "La Karaktero de Vortelementoj en Esperanto," *Literatura Foiro*, No. 29 (1975), 11-15. The classic studies of the subject are Camille Aymonier, *Essai sur la dérivation comparée dans les langues naturelles et artificielles* (Paris: Office Central Espérantiste, 1921) and K. Kalocsay's *Lingvo Stilo Formo* (see 116, above) and *La Gramatika Karaktero de la Esperantaj Radikoj* (Budapest: Literatura Mondo, 1938; rpt. *American Esperanto Magazine*, Oct.-Dec. 1965). See Haupenthal, pp. 19-21 (111, above), for a full listing of the studies of Esperanto morphology.

121. Recent issues of *Scienca Revuo* (26 [1975], 125-200) and *Kontakto* (No. 48, 1975) are devoted entirely to linguistic studies. The former includes a particularly interesting article on accent, W. A. V. Themaat, "La Frazakcento en Esperanto," and the latter an article on Esperanto phonetics, Tibor Vaskó, "Ĉu Ideala Sonsistemo?" See also I. Szerdahelyi, "La Lingvistika Terminologio en Esperanto," *Literatura Foiro*, No. 33 (1975), 9-12. Vol. 25 (1974) of *Scienca Revuo* also included an issue on linguistic topics.

122. The International Linguistic Symposium in Kumrovec, Yugoslavia (1975), was devoted to the linguistics of Esperanto. Its proceedings have been published in a valuable volume *Internacia Lingvistika Simpozio*, ed. Z. Tisljar (Zagreb: Internacia Kultura Servo, 1976). Particularly noteworthy are the contributions by I. Szerdahelyi, "La semantika modelo de Esperanto" and M. Duc Goninaz, "Bazaj problemoj de la analizo de Esperanto." See also *Esperantologiaj Kajeroj 1*, ed. Szerdahelyi (Budapest: Universitato Eötvös Loránd, 1976).

2. Comparative Study of Esperanto

123. The comparative study of Esperanto generally takes one of three forms. Scholars may make comparisons between Zamenhof's language and the various projects for constructed languages published before or since. Or they may be concerned with the origins of Esperanto — where Zamenhof found his raw material and how he adapted it. Finally, they may choose to explore the relationship between present-day Esperanto and the various national languages — either in theoretical terms or with reference to the relationship between an individual's native language and his use of Esperanto.

124. Interlinguistic studies, the first of our categories, include two important works in Esperanto: William Gilbert, *Planlingvaj Problemoj* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1962) and W. J. A. Manders, *Interlingvistiko kaj Esperantologio* (Purmerend, Netherlands: Muusses, 1950). Gilbert is available in English, tr. D. Charters, as *Problems of Languages Planned for International Use* (1971, available through ELNA). His work assesses the linguistic strengths and weaknesses of a number of language projects. Several of the works cited in 2.3, above, do the same. Also worthy of attention as a defense of Esperanto is CRD Doc. A/IV/4-6, which includes Ivo Lapenna's spirited response to Alexander Gode and others, "Yes, Esperanto is the Answer to the World Language Problem."

125. The best study of the sources of Esperanto is D. B. Gregor's article "La Fontoj de Esperanto," *Scienca Revuo*, 9 (1958), 92-110, later published as a booklet (Purmerend: Muusses, n.d.). See also P. Stojan, *Deveno kaj Vivo de la Lingvo Esperanto* (Brugge: Flandra Esperanto-Instituto, 1953), F. Modrijan, *Elementoj Latinaj en Esperanto*

(Ljubljana: Esperanto-Klubo, n.d.) and M. Duc Goninaz, "Les influences slaves en espéranto," *Cahiers de linguistique, d'orientalisme et de slavistique* (Université de Provence), 3-4 (1974), 31-53.

126. Themaat's article, cited above (121) deals interestingly with the influence of their native languages on speakers of Esperanto. Broader in scope is Hartmut Trunte's discussion of a common subject among Esperantist linguists, "Esperanto—ĉu eŭropa lingvo?," *Kontakto*, No. 48 (1975), 15-22. The author distinguishes a number of ties between Esperanto and non-European languages and also provides some comparison with language projects. The article has good bibliographies. N.A. McQuown, "A Comparative Study of Esperanto from the Standpoint of Modern German," is an unpublished master's thesis (U. of Illinois, 1936). See also section 3, below.

3. Lexicology and Related Questions.

127. The history of Esperanto has been a history of linguistic expansion. Zamenhof's first booklet on the International Language, published in 1887, contained some 900 roots, enabling the speaker to form several thousand words. By 1930, E. Grosjean-Maupin recorded some 6800 roots in the first edition of his *Plena Vortaro de Esperanto*, and this figure had risen to 8000 roots by the time of the sixth edition in 1960. Gaston Waringhien's *Plena Ilustrita Vortaro de Esperanto* (Paris: SAT, 1970) contains over 15,000 entries. Waringhien has described the growth of Esperanto and the work of the lexicographer in several studies, including "La ellaboro de la Esperanta leksikologio," *Monda Kulturo*, 1 (1962-4), 263-7, 280. See also the introduction to *Plena Ilustrita Vortaro*.

128. To date there exists no comprehensive study in English of the development of lexical material in Esperanto. Three comparative studies should be noted, however: Theodore Gutmans, "Esperanto and Icelandic: Two Contrasting Lexical Systems," *LMLP*, 4 (1972), 89-95; W.E. Collinson, "The Internationality of some Esperanto Affixes," *Esperantologio*, 1 (1949-55), 81-88, and Collinson, "Germanic Elements in the Vocabulary of Esperanto," *Esperantologio*, 2 (1959), 1-12. Suggestive, if somewhat amateur in approach, is Louis Bastien's listing of cognate words in nine languages *Naŭlingva Etimologia Leksikono* (2nd ed., [Rickmansworth]: EPC, 1950). See also R. Bernard and A. Ribot, *Falsaj Amikoj en Esperanto* (Marmande: EFE, 1971), and M.C. Butler, *False Friends*, ed. J.C. Wells (London: BEA, 1972).

4. Institutions.

129. Although Esperanto has been remarkably free to develop and expand over the years, particularly with respect to its vocabulary (and also in the exploitation of flexibilities latent in the original structure), two principles have acted as a controlling factor on this law of natural selection. The first is the idea that the fundamentals of Esperanto, the so-called Sixteen Rules, are inviolable: while the language is free to expand, it does so on an unchanging base. The second is the concept of "officialization": once new words have reached general acceptance, and if they seem useful additions, they are approved by the Esperanto Academy and become a part of the "official" basis of the language. See Edward Ockey, *The Accepted Esperanto Dictionary* (Banstead, Surrey: the author, 1971).

130. The Academy grew out of the Language Committee first established in 1905 with Zamenhof at its head. Appointed to protect the fundamental principles of Esperanto and to ensure its orderly development, the Language Committee grew rapidly to become an unwieldy body with over 100 members. The Academy was initially elected from among the members of the Language Committee, but in 1948 the two institutions were united once more to form a single Academy of Esperanto of no more than fifty members.

131. The history of the Academy is recounted in Lapenna, *Esperanto en Perspektivo* (see Basic Texts), pp. 664-9, and in English in CRD, C/II/2 (1968): "Brief Historical Survey of Language Institutions." Its principal publications, particularly those having to do with lexical matters, are listed in Haupenthal, pp. 21-3 (111, above). Its proceedings, *Aktoj de la Akademio*, appear from time to time, the most recent issue covering the period 1968-74. The complete membership of the Academy is listed each year in the UEA Yearbook (see 160, below). Its constitution has been published in English translation as CRD C/II/3 (1968).

5. General and Specialized Dictionaries.

132. There are two principal categories of dictionaries and glossaries in Esperanto: bilingual ones, designed for the speakers of particular language, and those solely in Esperanto. In each category there exist both general and specialized works. We have already mentioned the principal dictionaries available to English speakers: Wells, Fulcher and Long, and Butler (see 110); but there are also several smaller and less comprehensive compilations available, such as Felix Woolf's useful *English Phrases and Expressions in Esperanto* (Cardiff, Ont.: Esperanto Press, 1969). Of the non-English dictionaries, important from a lexicographical standpoint are Gaston Waringhien's *Grande Dictionnaire Esperanto-Français* (1957; 2nd ed., Paris: Librairie Centrale Espérantiste, 1976) and E. A. Bokarev's *Rusa-Esperanta Vortaro* and *Esperanta-Rusa Vortaro* (Moscow: Soveta Enciklopedio, 1966 and 1974 resp.). A. Hrynkiewicz is author of a thematic dictionary, *Laŭtema Vortaro*, in Esperanto, English, French and Spanish (Buenos Aires: the author, 1971).

133. Recent works of interest to English speakers include F. Munniksma's major compilation *International Business Dictionary in Nine Languages* (Deventer, Netherlands: Kluwer, 1974), Fiat's *Malgranda Vortaro Aŭto-Turisma* (Torino, 1975), and a brief glossary for translators of Esperanto documents by V. Sadler and H. Tonkin (Rotterdam: UEA, 1976). This last deals mostly with international organizations. The most extensive specialized dictionary for English speakers is probably D. R. Duncan's *English-Esperanto Chemical Dictionary* (London: BEA, 1956). See also the glossary of sporting terms prepared for the Olympics, *Esperanto, Internacia Lingvo de Amikeco*, by R. L. Harry (2nd ed., Roxboro: Canadian Esperanto Association, 1976).

134. Among the numerous dictionaries available to Esperanto speakers, pride of place must go to Waringhien's monumental *Plena Ilustrita Vortaro* (see 110). Mention might also be made of Vilho Setala's handy *Oportuna Vortaro de Ordinara Esperanto* (Helsinki: Fondumo Esperanto, 1969), and R. Haferkorn and K. Dellian, *Scienca kaj Teknika Terminaro* (Tokyo: Japana Esperanto-Instituto, 1956). Synonyms and antonyms are represented by Marinko Ĉivoje (Ĝivoje), *Esperantonimoj* (Milano: La Patrolo, 1973). Roger Bernard compiled the rhyming dictionary in *Parnasa Gvidlibro* (see 138), and Klaus Schlüter has produced a useful reverse dictionary, compiled by computer, *Inversa Vortaro* (Nürnberg: Pickel, 1972). Also of particular interest is T. Nakamura's *Enciklopedieto Japana* (Osaka: Kosmo, 1964). R. Haferkorn has compiled a bibliography of "Scientific, Technical and Other Special Dictionaries in Esperanto," CRD, E/V/1 (1962; with supplement, CRD E/V/2, 1964). Note also two other CRD bibliographies, "A Bibliography of Chemical Glossaries in Esperanto," CRD, E/V/3 (n.d.) and "A Bibliography of Esperanto Glossaries in Mathematics and the Natural Sciences," CRD, E/V/4 (1972), and also *Bibliography of Interlingual Scientific and Technical Dictionaries* (5th ed., Paris: Unesco, 1969).

6. Usage and Norms

135. From its limited beginnings in 1887 as a project for an international language, Esperanto has grown to become a fully developed and elaborate [illegible] of communication for many people in all parts of the world. Inevitably Esperanto has developed its own style, its distinctive usage, its special ways of saying things. Equally inevitably, there are many works on style and usage in Esperanto — a subject made doubly important by the fact that for most people Esperanto is a second language, not the dominant language of day-to-day communication.

136. Zamenhof himself was the first to provide help to Esperanto speakers on matters of style. His *Lingvaj Respondoj*, dealing with points of grammar and usage, appeared at various times in three periodicals. Some were collected in 1910, but the first complete collection appeared in 1962, ed. G. Waringhien (Marmande: EFE). F. Faulhaber deals with style and usage in his attractive *Ne tiel, sed tiel ĉi* (3rd ed., Aabyhøj: DEF, 1974). See also H. A. de Hoog, *Du Malsanoj en Esperanto* (Hällabrotet: Carlén, 1954), Kalocsay's *Lingvo Stilo Formo* (see 116, above) and Edmond Privat, *Esprimo de Sentoj en Esperanto* (3rd ed. Den Haag: Internacia Cseh-Instituto, 1957). A brief translation from E. Grosjean-Maupin's contribution to *Enciklopedio de Esperanto* was published some years ago as "The Evolution of Esperanto," *CRD* A/III/4.

137. There have been several studies of word frequency in Esperanto, notably Leo Blaas, "Statistiko de 50,000 tekstvortoj," *Esperantologio*, 1 (1949-55), 107-32, 160-200. See also *Aktoj de la Akademio* (1968-74) (131, above), and the article "Vortstatistiko" in *Enciklopedio de Esperanto* (142, below).

7. The Language of Literature

138. One aspect of style and usage which merits separate consideration is literary language in Esperanto. Because Esperanto's early speakers used the language largely for rather special forms of communication, in which everyday words were sometimes less important than the language of politics or debate, literature was the main means for the expansion of the language and the development of its flexibility. The first edition of the classic work of K. Kalocsay and G. Waringhien, *Parnasa Cvidlibro* (2nd ed., with additions by R. Bernard, Warsaw and Brussels: PEA and Heroldo de Esperanto, 1968) touched off a dispute on neologisms whose importance spread far beyond the original readership of the book, a manual of poetic style. The concerns of poets had immediate influence on popular usage.

139. In *Lingvo Stilo Formo* (116, above) Kalocsay provides a useful study of the evolution of poetic language in Esperanto. C. J. Degenkamp picks up a related theme in *Esperanto 60-Jara: Skizo pri la Evoluo de la Lingvo Literatura* (Amsterdam: FLE, 1947), and William Auld returns to the subject in the best discussion in English, "The Development of Poetic Language in Esperanto," *ED* 4-A (1976). A series of articles on style in Esperanto writers, published originally in the magazine *Heroldo*, has been collected as: R. Rossetti, *Spegulo de Esperantaj Stiloj* (Lelystad, Netherlands: Vulpo, 1976).

140. On metrics and related questions see section 193 below, and the essays of Edwin de Kock appended to his *Ombroj de la Kvara Dimensio* and *Fajro sur mia Lango* (187).

Chapter 4. Esperanto as a Social Phenomenon

1. Esperanto Culture

141. Can Esperanto be described as having its own culture? The question is difficult not only because of disagreement among scholars concerning the meaning of the word "culture" but also because of the unique origins of Esperanto, neither ethnic nor geographical, or certainly seeking to escape such ethnic or geographical identification. There can be no doubt that Esperanto, after nearly ninety years of continuous use, has its own speech community, sharing a history, a set of institutions and, in some measure, a set of ideals. It has its own literature, publishers and periodical press. Although almost all its speakers use Esperanto as a *second* language, not a first, and although consequently they are linked also to a variety of national and ethnic cultures, they do share a common identity through this second language. The *social* phenomenon of Esperanto is a reality and can be studied as such.

142. The most extensive survey of the literature, history and institutions of Esperanto is *Esperanto en Perspektivo* (London and Rotterdam: CRD and UEA, 1974). The volume, edited by Ivo Lapenna and Ulrich Lins, with contributions also by Tazio Carlevaro, runs to almost 900 pages of text, bibliography, statistical tables and illustrations, and is indispensable for serious study. Almost as important for the student of the early history of Esperanto culture (many of its entries on the language and literature retain their relevance) is another major work, L. Kökény and V. Bleier, ed., *Enciklopedio de Esperanto* (2 vols., Budapest: Literatura Mondo, 1933-34). The history and literature of Esperanto are the subject of a third important study, prepared for the advanced diploma of the Hungarian Esperanto Association, *Gvidlibro por Supera Ekzameno*, ed. Alfonso Pechan (Budapest: HEA, 1966).

143. The social composition of the Esperanto movement is examined in Peter G. Forster's "Esperanto as a Social and Linguistic Movement," *Thought and Language in Operations*, 2 (1971), 201-15. An earlier study by a leading Freudian psychologist of the day, J. C. Flugel, looks at the structure of the Esperanto movement and the psychological basis of people's attitudes for and against the language. Flugel's essay, "Esperanto and the International Language Movement," is in his *Men and their Motives: Psycho-Analytical Studies* (London: Kegan Paul, 1934), pp. 159-213. A brief report on the reasons why eighteen leading Esperanto speakers learned the language is contained in *Enketo pri Esperanto* (Kopenhago: Komuna Konversacia Klubo, [1958]).

144. Motives for learning Esperanto, declared or undeclared, of course vary. Some see it as essentially a practical language, others as a means to a more peaceful world, others as a culture worthy of their sustained attention. Although most speakers of Esperanto share a belief in the idea of a world language, one cannot identify Esperanto with a single ideology or political position: it is a *means* of communication, not an *end*. At the same time, the literature of Esperanto and the history of the language naturally reveal a certain internationalist tendency. The hope for a better world is perhaps stronger among Esperanto speakers than in some national cultures. Some of these aspirations and their attendant achievements have been traced in a study by Ulrich Lins, "The Contribution of the Universal Esperanto Association to World Peace," *ED* 5-A (1976). A sense of the general intellectual climate of the Esperanto movement, with its strong belief in human rights and international institutions, can be gained from the work of one of its leading modern activists and apologists, Ivo Lapenna, *Elektitaj Paroladoj kaj Prelegoj* (Selected Speeches and Lectures, Rotterdam: the author, 1966).

145. In the sections that follow we shall look at the history, institutions, and literature of the Esperanto movement and then at some of the areas in which the language has been put to practical use.

2. Zamenhof's Contribution.

146. Despite his own retiring nature, the early years of Esperanto are dominated by the figure of Ludovic Zamenhof (1859-1917). Thanks to the work of biographers and historians we know a good deal about his life. Much of this information is contained in the two biographies by Boulton and Privat (107, above), but mention should also be made of the collection of studies by Adolf Holzhaus, *Doktoro kaj Lingvo Esperanto* (Helsinki: Fondumo Esperanto, 1969), for example on the early history of the Esperanto movement, on Zamenhof's knowledge of languages, and on Zamenhof's father. Zamenhof's family life is also the subject of an article by N. Z. Maimon, "La Familia Vivo en la Hejmo de Marko Zamenhof," *Norda Prismo*, 14 (1968), 34-39, 95-98. A large collection of photographs of Zamenhof and his family is contained in Holzhaus's *Granda Calerio Zamenhofa* (Helsinki: Fondumo Esperanto, 1973). The CRD Document 6.2 (London, 1960) contains three valuable studies on Zamenhof in English: "Dr. L. L. Zamenhof's Greatness" by Ivo Lapenna, "L. L. Zamenhof — Pioneer Poet" by Marjorie Boulton, and "Integrity and Potential in Zamenhof's Achievement," by John Francis. On the Zamenhof family see E. Wiesenfeld, *Calerio de Zamenhofoj* (Horrem: Heroldo de Esperanto, 1925).

147. Zamenhof was representative of the idealist wing of the early Esperanto movement. His publication of Esperanto in 1887 followed a number of years as an active Zionist: see N. Z. Maimon, "La Cionista Periodo en la Vivo de Zamenhof," *NLR*, 3 (1957-8), 126-37. Later Zamenhof abandoned Zionism and went on to plead for an ecumenical linking of the world's religions, first in a pamphlet addressed to the Jews of Russia (1901), translated by Holzhaus into Esperanto as *Hilelismo* (Helsinki: Fondumo Esperanto, 1972, bilingual edition), later in his campaign for Homaranismo, developed out of the earlier "Hillelism": see N. Z. Maimon, "Historio de Hilelismo," *NLR*, 5 (1959-60), 136-40, 163-71.

148. The pamphlet on Hillelism was published under the pseudonym *Homo Sum*. Because so many of Zamenhof's articles and poems were published under pseudonyms, and often in ephemeral Russian or Yiddish periodicals, there is no absolutely complete edition of his works. The nearest approach, covering his original works in Esperanto (so without the translations) is *Originala Verkaro*, ed. J. Dietterle (Leipzig: Ferdinand Hirt, 1929). A new collection of the original works, somewhat more complete than Dietterle and with supplementary commentary, is now being published in Japan (Kioto: Ludovikito). So far five volumes have appeared. *Unuaj Libroj por Esperantistoj* (First Books for Esperanto Speakers, 1973) contains the text of the first and second booklets on Esperanto (1887 and 1888) and the supplement to the second booklet; *Ni Laboru kaj Esperu* (Let us Work and Hope, 1974) covers the years 1887-91; *Antaŭen al la Laboro* (Onwards to Work, 1974) covers 1892-95, and *Tamen la Afero Progresas* (Nevertheless the Cause Progresses, 1975) brings the collection up to 1900. *Hebreo el la Ceto* (1976) contains translations of Russian and Yiddish works and other early material. Zamenhof's *Fundamento de Esperanto* (1905) is available in a modern (9th) edition, with commentary by André Albault (Marmande: EFE, 1963), and Zamenhof's occasional articles on language and style, *Lingvaj Respondoj* have been edited by G. Waringhien (136, above).

149. Zamenhof carried on a vigorous correspondence throughout his life. Many of the letters were published in Dietterle's *Originala Verkaro*, but later discoveries have appeared in G. Waringhien's excellent edition, *Leteroj de L. L. Zamenhof* (2 vols., Paris: SAT, 1948)

and in a recent large volume, *Leteroj*, ed. Adolf Holzhaus (Helsinki: Fondumo Esperanto, 1975).

150. Of his translations, the largest project was the Old Testament. The Bible is available in an edition published in London by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Zamenhof's translation of *Hamlet* was first published in 1894, reaching its eighth edition in 1964 (*Hamleto*, ed. D. B. Gregor; Marmande: EFE). Other translations by Zamenhof available in modern editions are his earliest (1891), Dickens's *Battle of Life* (*La Batalo de l'Vivo*, Amsterdam: FLE, n.d.), and Eliza Orzeszko's novel *Marta*, translated from the Polish (1910; 4th edn., Marmande: EFE, 1968). Four volumes of Zamenhof's translation of Hans Andersen's Fables appeared after his death, as *Fabeloj*: vol. 1 (1923; 3rd ed. Brussels: Heroldo de Esperanto, 1965), vol. 2 (1926), vol. 3 (1932) and vol. 4 (Brussels: Heroldo de Esperanto, 1963).

151. Zamenhof did more than create a language: he sought to create the foundations of an international culture too — but rooted, like the language, in the living idioms of the world of his day. As proof of this we have one of the most interesting of all his publications, the *Proverbaro*, a collection of proverbs drawn from many languages and intended, at least in part, to form the basis for a shared culture in Esperanto on the borderline between language and literature. Though such an undertaking might seem unlikely to succeed, the *Proverbaro* was markedly influential among later writers. It first appeared in 1910. A modern edition, ed. Camille Rogister, appeared in 1961 (La Laguna: Régulo; rpt. 1974).

152. Our account of Zamenhof has inevitably taken us into the realms of literature and history. Let us turn now to the history of the Esperanto movement in general and then go on to consider its present organization.

3. History

153. The history of Esperanto falls naturally into three parts, separated by the two World Wars. The first saw the gradual growth of Esperanto, the creation of associations to promote it, the exploration of its practical uses, and the debate over possible changes in the language itself. In the second period came campaigns for the general recognition of Esperanto, for example in the League of Nations, the growth of the proletarian Esperanto movement, and the establishment of the language as a mature idiom. The third period has seen a consolidation of the organizational structure, a measure of public recognition (by Unesco, for example), and a growth of the teaching of Esperanto in schools (see the sections on these topics).

154. While the study of the history of Esperanto presents a number of interesting theoretical problems for the historian, most of the histories are simple accounts whose authors make little attempt at interpretation or analysis. For the early years, through to the mid-twenties, Edmond Privat's *Historio de la Lingvo Esperanto* (2 vols., Leipzig: Ferdinand Hirt, 1923-27) is the most readily accessible and readable. Z. Adam (Adam Zakrzewski) covers the early years more fully in *Historio de Esperanto 1887-1912* (Varsovio: Gebethner kaj Wolff, 1913). More controversial and also more profound is E. Drezen's Marxist interpretation *Analiza Historio de Esperanto-Movado* (1931; repr. Kioto: L'Omnibuso, 1972). There is one good study in English on the early history: A.L. Gerard, *Short History of the International Language Movement* (London and New York, 1922), though much of this ground is of course also covered in the biographies of Zamenhof by Boulton and Privat (see 107). The Esperanto version of Boulton's biography, *Zamenhof: Aŭtoro de Esperanto* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1962) includes some information not contained in the English version. Mention should also be made of Ed. Stettler's biography of the founder of UEA, *Hector*

Hodler: Lia Vivo kaj Lia Verko (Geneve: UEA, 1928), and of course the *Enciklopedio de Esperanto* (142). See also Edmond Privat, *Aventuroj de Pioniro* (La Laguna: Regulo, 1963). In an admirable and provocative short study, L. Ĵirkov attempts to establish why Esperanto succeeded and other language projects failed: *Kial Venkis Esperanto?* (49, above).

155. The years between the Wars are particularly well handled in the contributions of Ulrich Lins to *Esperanto en Perspektivo* (142). Much light is thrown on the period by the *Historio de SAT 1921-52* (Paris: SAT, 1953), and through the letters of Lanti, founder of SAT, the central organization in the proletarian Esperanto movement (E. Lanti, *Leteroj*, Paris: SAT, 1940). See also E. Borsboom, *Vivo de Lanti* (Paris: SAT, 1976). There are a number of official reports, most of them favorable and many of them in English, by bodies interested in the use of Esperanto (see also 43, 207 and 220). The history of Esperanto at the League of Nations has been studied by Lapenna (see 220). The *Ora Libro de la Esperanto-Movado 1887-1937*, ed. V. Bleier and E. Cense (Budapest: 29-a Universala Kongreso de Esperanto, 1937) provides a brief history, biographies of early Esperantists and a survey of the Esperanto movement at the time.

156. This second period of Esperanto's history, from the death of Zamenhof in 1917 to the outbreak of the Second World War, began promisingly but ended in some disarray. The proletarian Esperanto movement split between the Soviets and the rest; mismanagement, personal quarrels and political problems split the neutral Esperanto movement between UEA and the International Esperanto League (IEL), and the rising tide of nationalism in Germany and Russia brought active persecution of Esperanto speakers in both countries. Ulrich Lins has made a special study of the persecution of Esperantists during this period and in later years. The fruits of his researches are contained in a number of publications, of which the most important are: Victor Sadler and Ulrich Lins, "Regardless of Frontiers: A Case Study in Linguistic Persecution," in *Man, Language and Society*, ed. Samir K. Ghosh (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1972), pp. 206-215; Ulrich Lins, *La Danĝera Lingvo: Esperanto en la Uragano de Persekutoj* (Kioto: L'Omnibuso, 1973), and the relevant chapters in *Esperanto en Perspektivo* (142). See also Lins's "Esperanto dum la Tria Regno," *Germana Esperanto-Revuo*, 9 (1966), 76-78, 99-101; 10 (1967), 5-8—rpt. *Sennacieca Revuo*, 96 (1968), 1-19.

157. By far the most sensitive and perceptive account of the entire history of Esperanto is the "Historia Skizo de la Esperanta Movado" in Gaston Waringhien's *Lingvo kaj Vivo* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1959), pp. 397-423. See also *Cvidlibro por Supera Ekzameno* (142). An elaborate *Historio de Esperanto* by Leon Courtinat (3 vols., Bellerive-sur-Allier: the author, 1964-66) reprints many important documents and gives much valuable information (up to 1960), but is so marred by misprints and errors that the reader would be well advised to go back to the original sources in the yearbooks (*Jarlibro*) of UEA and IEL, the *Esperantista Dokumentaro* (1906-23), and relevant periodicals. *Memorlibro pri la Zamenhof-Jaro*, ed. Ivo Lapenna (London: CRD, 1960) contains good studies of Zamenhof and the history and present state of the Esperanto movement. The CRD Documents are valuable for all phases of Esperanto history.

158. There are numerous histories of the Esperanto movement in particular countries, for example M. Miyamoto, *Historieto de la Japana Esperanto-Movado* (Oosaka: KLEG, 1975), M. Givoje (Giivoje), *Historio de Esperanto-Movado en Jugoslavio* (Zagreb, 1965) and Canko Murgin, *Historio de la Bulgara Esperanto-Movado 1885-1890* (Kokemäki: Satakunnan Maakunta Oy, 1964). For the English reader particularly interesting is W. King's full account of *Esperanto in New Zealand 1904-1963* (Wellington: NZEA, 1973). See also John Merchant, *Joseph Rhodes kaj la Fruaj Tagoj de Esperanto en Anglujo* (London: Federacio

Esperantista de Yorkshire, 1925). Only the Japanese movement has been subjected to systematic analysis, particularly in a number of studies in Japanese (see UEA's magazine *Esperanto*, 68 [1975], 131).

4. Present Organization

159. We can discern six basic types of Esperanto organizations currently at work: first, the Universal Esperanto Association (reunited with IEL after the Second World War), the principal international organization, politically neutral, linking many of the smaller organizations as a kind of umbrella association; second the various international associations for specialized groups and interests (everything from teachers to ornithologists, and from doctors to chess players); third, political and religious groups, some of the latter loosely linked with UEA; fourth, the national Esperanto associations, most of which are affiliated with UEA; fifth, local and regional groups; and sixth, an assortment of institutes, foundations, publishing houses and service organizations.

160. There is no overall presentation in English of the structure of the Esperanto movement, though many of the documents of the CRD describe aspects of it. Readers of French will find Janton's *L'espéranto* (104, above) a useful guide. The yearbook of UEA, the *Jarlibro* (1976 edition, Rotterdam: UEA), gives detailed information on certain aspects of UEA itself and on the national and specialized organizations. It includes lists of the local representatives (Delegitoj) of UEA, of whom there are over 2000 in various parts of the world. A useful source of information is the periodical press, particularly UEA's monthly journal *Esperanto* and the independent *Heroldo de Esperanto*, but the fullest account of the organization of the Esperanto movement, and particularly UEA, is provided by Lapenna's *Esperanto en Perspektivo* (142).

161. The Annual Report of UEA is available in an English version for 1974-75 (*ED* 2-A, 1975) and 1975-76. UEA also publishes a booklet containing its constitution and bylaws: *Statuto kaj Regularoj* (Rotterdam: UEA, 1968). See also "Unesco and the UEA: The Contribution of the Universal Esperanto Association to the Work of Unesco, 1954-74," *ED* 1-A (1975).

162. Many of the specialized international organizations for Esperanto speakers have their own magazines, and some of the stronger organizations have systems of national affiliates. The teachers in both Britain and the U.S., for example, publish bulletins in English (see 210). Of the religious and political organizations, a political organization, SAT, is much the largest. Its monthly newspaper *Sennaciulo* and its Yearbook (*Jarlibro*), issued every other year, provide a general picture of its activities. Its British affiliate publishes a bulletin partly in English, *The Worker Esperantist*. The Esperanto Movement for World Peace, MEM, also publishes a magazine, *Paco*. Religious organizations with flourishing journals include the Catholic IKUE (*Espero Katolika*), the Protestant KELI (*Dia Regno*) and the Japanese religious movement Oomoto (*Oomoto*). This last also publishes materials in English.

163. All the national Esperanto associations in English-speaking countries publish reports from time to time, for example ELNA in its *Newsletter* and BEA in its bulletin *Esperanto News* and magazine *La Brita Esperantisto*. These periodicals also provide information on the activities of local groups and regional organizations. Most national Esperanto associations publish magazines or newsletters, in Esperanto or national languages. UEA's booklet *La Esperanto-Societo* (Rotterdam, 1966) gives suggestions and illustrations on the activities of the typical local society. A survey of local Esperanto societies was carried out by CRD in 1964 and the results published in the UEA Yearbook for 1965 and in a separate booklet. The survey, which covered only 39 countries, listed 1299 local societies.

5. International Meetings

164. The series of World Congresses of Esperanto began in Boulogne-sur-Mer in 1905. In 1976 the 61st Congress was organized by UEA in Athens. There are four main sources of information on the World Congresses (Universalaj Kongresoj de Esperanto): the Congress Handbook, published each year for the participants and providing details of the program, lists of participants and so on; the Esperanto press, and particularly *Esperanto* and *Heroldo de Esperanto*; the press releases issued by the Congress Press Service; and reports published by CRD or UEA, often also in English. Such reports exist for most recent congresses and generally carry a brief summary of the events and the texts of congress resolutions. See, for example, "The 60th Universal Congress of Esperanto, Copenhagen, 1975," *ED* 3-A (1975). The International Summer University, a series of lectures held each year during the congress, is sometimes the subject of a separate report, and occasionally the lectures have been published in a special volume or in the Esperanto press.

165. Although the most important, the World Congress is only one event among many in the Esperanto calendar. *Heroldo de Esperanto* publishes an annual calendar of Esperanto congresses and international meetings generally in one of its March issues. That for 1976 lists 118 separate events. A similar annual calendar published in Poland (*Turisma Esperanto-Kalendaro*, Bydgoszcz-Gdańsk-Warszawa: PEA, 1976) lists 124. Many of these events have their own handbooks and a few result in published reports. A brief statistical survey of international Esperanto meetings held in 1972 has been published by CRD (Doc. I/II/32, 1974).

166. For details on World Congresses and other meetings see the relevant sections of *Esperanto en Perspektivo* (142).

Chapter 5. Esperanto as a Literary Language

1. The Scope of the Literature

167. Esperanto is unusual among languages in that the *written* language actually preceded the *spoken* language. Because of the geographical dispersal of Esperanto speakers, the written language has always played an especially important role. Literature, and particularly translation, provided the first Esperanto speakers with a means to expand the language and broaden the realms of experience in which it was employed. Zamenhof himself was a major literary translator. Of course the growth of a literature, original and translated, at once raised questions not only about the feasibility of a literary culture in Esperanto but about the ability of the language to remain truly neutral, in a cultural sense, while at the same time establishing its own literary norms. This tension between the desire to put down roots and the wish to create a truly international culture has proved a particularly productive one, and has resulted in a rich and flourishing literature.

168. We have touched on the context of this literature in our discussion of Esperanto culture. The fullest discussion in English of the literature itself is Margaret Hagler's doctoral dissertation (Indiana Univ., 1971), "The Esperanto Language as a Literary Medium" (*Dissertation Abstracts* 32:919A, 1971). The complete text is available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mich. (order no. 71-21,300) and excerpts have been published in *The British Esperantist*, 67 (1971) and 68 (1972) and *ELNA Newsletter*, 9 (1973). See also D. B. Gregor's useful study "The Cultural Value of Esperanto," *Modern Languages* (1965). William Auld, "Esperanto as a Literary Language," *CRD* D/1/3 (2nd ed. 1964), and two articles by H. Tonkin, "Esperanto Literature Since the War," *International PEN Bulletin*, 18 (1967), 49-51, and "Poetry in Esperanto: Is an International Literary Culture Possible?" *Proceedings of the Sixth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association* (Stuttgart: Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1975), pp. 503-7. A short survey by K. R. C. Sturmer, *Esperanto Literature* (London: EPC, 1930) is now much out of date, but useful for the early period. See also W. A. Verloren van Themaat, "Literature in a Constructed Language," *LMLP*, 4 (1972), 153-8. The periodical *Books Abroad* (from 1977 titled *World Literature Today*) reviews Esperanto books from time to time.

169. A historical analysis of Esperanto literature reveals three distinct periods: the time from 1887 to about 1907, when the literature was just beginning and was tentatively feeling its way; the period from the publication of Kalocsay's *Mondo kaj Koro* (1921) to the outbreak of the Second World War when the literary language reached its maturity; and the years from 1952 on, initiated by the publication of *Kvaropo* by a group of Scottish poets — what Auld describes as the "metaphysical" period. The years between these periods were essentially transitional. A generic, rather than a historical, analysis would reveal a strong corpus of poetry, the particular linguistic qualities of Esperanto probably serving as the main attraction for a number of talented poets and resulting in particularly fine lyric poetry. The short story and the novel are less strong, and there is very little good drama, principally because Esperanto speakers are insufficiently concentrated geographically to sustain it. As for national influences on Esperanto literature, Poland and Russia dominated in the early years, France and Hungary particularly in the years between the Wars, and Britain particularly after 1950 or so. Of late the influence of countries as disparate as Japan, Brazil and Iceland is particularly apparent.

170. There are several good anthologies. William Auld's *Esperanta Antologio* (La Laguna: Regulo, 1958) contains representative works by ninety Esperanto poets from 1887 on. Reto Rossetti and Ferenc Szilagyi perform a similar service for the short story in their anthology

33 Rakontoj: La Esperanta Novelarto (La Laguna: Régulo, 1964). Two small collections of new poetry were published by the influential Literatura Mondo, in Budapest, between the Wars: *Dekdu Poetoj* (Twelve Poets) in 1934 and *Naŭ Poetoj* (Nine Poets) in 1938. Among other important collections is one containing Esperanto work by nineteen Yugoslav poets, *Reeĥoj: Jugoslavia Poemaro*, ed. Marinko Gjivoje (La Laguna: Régulo, 1961). A series of seven annual volumes of *haiku* by Japanese writers culminated in *Finalo '73* (Osaka: Hajkista Klubo, 1973). See also the bibliography in William Auld (139, above).

171. Auld has compiled a complete list of original novels in Esperanto. While the number of good novels in Esperanto is fairly small, the following merit serious attention: Sandor Szathmari's utopian novel *Vojago al Kazohinio* (Paris: SAT, 1958), Raymond Schwartz's major work *Kiel Akvo de l'Rivero* (1963; rpt. Aabyhøy: DEF, 1977), and Vladimir Varankin's experimental novel *Metropoliteno* (1933; 2nd edn. Copenhagen: TK, 1977). See also the section on major writers, below. *Vojago al Kazohinio* exists in both Hungarian and Esperanto versions. An English translation of the Hungarian text has recently appeared: *Kazohinia*, tr. Inez Kemenes (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1975).

172. Throughout its history, Esperanto literature has been enhanced by a constant flow of translations of major literary works. We have already touched on Zamenhof's translations. The topic of translation itself is the subject of two studies in English by William Auld, "The International Language as a Medium for Literary Translations" (CRD 6-3, 1960) and "On the Translation of Poetry" (CRD D/1/4, 1965). See also Kalocsay, "La traduction en espéranto," *Babel*, 11 (1965), 68-70. The fullest list of book-length literary translations in Esperanto is contained in Carlevaro's survey in *Esperanto en Perspektivo* (142). The following representative works are particularly noteworthy: Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre*, tr. H. J. Bulthuis (Zutphen: Thieme, 1931); William Shakespeare, *Otelo*, tr. R. Rossetti (La Laguna: Regulo, 1960); Sofoklo, *Reĝo Edipo* kaj *Antigona*, tr. D. B. Gregor (La Laguna: Regulo, 1960); *La Nobla Korano*, tr. Italo Chiussi (Copenhagen: TK, 1969); Lusin (Lu Hsun), *Noveloj* (2nd ed., Peking: Fremdlingva Eldonejo, 1974); C. Baudelaire, *Floroj de l'Malbono*, tr. G. Waringhien, K. Kalocsay and others (La Laguna: Regulo, 1957); J.P. Sartre, *La Nauzo*, tr. R. Bernard (Rotterdam: UEA, 1963); H. Heine, *Kantoj kaj Romancoj*, tr. K. Kalocsay and G. Waringhien (La Laguna: Regulo, 1969); Rabindranath Thakur, *Malsata Stono*, tr. Lakshmiswar Sinha (Rotterdam: UEA, 1961); Federico Garcia Lorca, *Cigana Romancaro*, tr. Fernando de Diego (La Laguna: Regulo, 1971; reviewed in English by Pierre Ullman in *Garcia Lorca Review*, 4 [1976], 109-114); Dante Alighieri, *Dia Komedio*, tr. G. Peterlongo (Milano: Edizione SIEI, 1963; bilingual edition); Kawabata Yasunari, *Nega Lando*, tr. Konisi Gaku (Tokyo: Japana Esperanto-Instituto, 1971); *Kalevala*, tr. J.E. Leppakoski (Helsinki: Fondumo Esperanto, 1964); H. Ibsen, *Peer Cynt*, tr. E.A. Haugen (Trondheim: Eldona Rondo, 1951); A. Mickiewicz, *Sinjoro Tadeo*, tr. A. Grabowski (1918; 2nd ed., Warsaw: Polonia, 1955).

173. A complete list of translations from English and American literature would run to several pages. They include works by such British authors as Defoe, Swift, Goldsmith, Byron, Dickens, Tennyson, Lewis Carroll, Wilde, Wells, Chesterton and Orwell, and by the Americans Irving, Hawthorne, Twain and Jack London (though American works are relatively underrepresented in translated Esperanto literature). A bibliography by H. Tonkin, *Shakespeare in Esperanto* (CRD D/II/13, 1966) lists 17 translations of 15 plays by Shakespeare, and the list has since grown by two further volumes. William Auld has recently begun a bibliography of literary translations from English (including those in magazines and anthologies) in *La Brita Esperantisto*: see vol. 71 (1975), 67-71. See also the list of American works translated into Esperanto, "Usona Bibliografio," *ELNA Newsletter*, 12 (1976), E-15-17. Finally, among popular writers whose works have been translated into

Esperanto we find Jerome K. Jerome, Rider Haggard, Agatha Christie, Freeman Wills Crofts, P. G. Wodehouse and Edgar Rice Burroughs.

174. There are numerous national anthologies—of translated works from particular national literatures, many of them providing a general overview of the literature in question. The series began with K. Bein's *Pola Antologio* (Paris: Hachette, 1906), republished as *La Lanternisto kaj Aliaj Prozaĵoj* (rpt. Aabyhøy: DEF, 1973), and more recent additions include *Dana Antologio*, ed. J. Christoffersen and H. E. Jensen (Aarhus and Toustrup: Centra Dana Esperantista Ligo, 1961), *El Japana Literaturo*, ed. Masao Miyamoto and Teruhiko Isiguro (Tokio: Japana Esperanto-Instituto, 1965) and *Ĉina Antologio 1949-1959* (Peking: Ĉina Esperanto-Ligo, 1960). W. Auld and R. Rossetti's impressive *Angla Antologio 1000-1800* appeared in 1957 (Rotterdam: UEA). There have been many international anthologies, mostly of poetry. Both Antoni Grabowski's *El Parnaso de Popoloj* (Warsaw: Pola Esperantisto, 1913) and Kalman Kalocsay's *Eterna Bukedo* (Budapest: Literatura Mondo, 1931) constitute major advances in the development of the literary language. Unfortunately neither is currently in print.

175. Of the various histories of Esperanto literature in Esperanto, the most readable and helpful is that by K. Kalocsay in Pechan's *Gvidlibro por Supera Ekzameno* (142). Carlevaro's survey in *Esperanto en Perspektivo* (142) is packed with information, though somewhat disjointed. *Skizo pri la Esperanta Literaturo*, by Vlastimil Novobilsky (Opava: Esperanto-Junularo ĉe Domo de Kulturo, 1957) lists principal dates and titles, provides biographies and presents samples of the work of some of the writers it describes, but is critically unsophisticated. This is also true of Drago Kralj's nevertheless readable *Kvar Prelegoj pri Esperanto-Literaturo* (Ljubljana: Slovenia Esperanto-Ligo, 1960).

176. Edmond Privat's lecture "Pri Esperanta Literaturo," first published in 1912 and reprinted in his *Junaĝa Verkaro* (La Laguna: Stafeto, 1960), still merits attention. See also the entries on individual authors and genres in *Enciklopedio de Esperanto* (142); the critical essays on individual authors in L. Totsche (L. Tárkony), *De Pago al Pago* (Budapest: Literatura Mondo, 1932), and the surveys of poetry and prose in *Ora Libro de la Esperanto-Movado*, ed. V. Bleier and E. Cense (see 155, above). Recent studies include William Auld's admirable introduction to *Esperanta Antologio* (see 170), and the survey of Esperanto prose by Ivo Rotkvić in his introduction to *La Esperanta Novelarto* (170).

177. Sophisticated literary criticism in Esperanto is still relatively rare. There are many essays on individual Esperanto authors (Haupenthal's bibliography provides a good cross-section), some of them instructive. Probably the best literary criticism in Esperanto is the work of Gaston Waringhien, particularly his *Eseoj I* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1956).

178. It is said that a literature lives when it is parodied. If so, special importance may be attached to Henri Baupierre's *Specimene* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1962), a collection of parodies and pastiches of twenty or so leading writers. In the following section we shall turn to some of the works that Baupierre parodied — a brief bibliographical presentation of some of the leading Esperanto writers.

2. Major Writers.

179. A comprehensive survey even of a few of the major figures in Esperanto literature is beyond the scope of the present study. We shall accordingly limit ourselves to a few of the major works of these figures, selecting modern editions, more easily obtainable, wherever possible.

180. In addition to Zamenhof (see 146-152), three authors from the early period merit our special consideration. Antoni Grabowski (1857-1921), more than any other single figure, brought Esperanto poetry to maturity. He is remembered today above all as a translator, particularly of Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz* (see 172). Kazimierz Bein (1872-1959), also Polish, did for prose what Grabowski did for verse. His translation of the novel of Bolesław Prus *La Faraono* (1907; 2nd. ed., 3 vols., Warsaw: Polonia, 1957) remains a classic of Esperanto style. In addition to his *Life of Zamenhof* and his active work for the promotion of Esperanto, the Swiss Edmond Privat (1889-1962) was an early contributor to original Esperanto poetry. His poems are available in a modern collection of his early work, *Junaĝa Verkaro* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1960).

181. The dominant figures in the literature of Esperanto between the Wars were two Hungarians, Kálmán Kalocsay (1891-1976) and Gyula Baghy (1891-1967). Very different in temperament and ideas (and sometimes at loggerheads as a consequence), they gathered around them a uniquely talented group of writers. A joint anthology of their work, *Ora Duopo*, appeared in 1966 (Budapest: HEA). Kalocsay's major contribution to original Esperanto poetry was his *Strecita Kordo* (Budapest: Literatura Mondo, 1931), but he was also editor-in-chief of the principal literary periodical of the interwar years, *Literatura Mondo*, contributor to many of the major studies of language and literature during this period and indefatigable translator — for example of Madách (*Tragedio de l'Homo*, 1924; 2nd ed., Budapest: Corvina, 1965), Dante (*Infero*, Budapest: Literatura Mondo, 1933), and Shakespeare (*Reĝo Lear*, Rotterdam: UEA, 1966; *La Tempesto*, La Laguna: Régulo, 1970; *Somermeznokta Sonĝo*, La Laguna: Régulo, 1967). On Kalocsay's work, see the group of critical essays published in *NLR*, 6 (1960-61) and 7 (1961-62), and the recent (March 1976) memorial number of *Esperanto* (vol. 69). Baghy's contribution includes poetry, short stories, novels and plays, and he was also well known as a teacher of Esperanto. Many of his works are currently available, among them the volumes of poetry *Aŭtuna Foliaro* (Oosaka: Pirato, 1970), *La Vagabondo Kantas* (2nd ed., Rotterdam, 1937), and *Ĉielarko* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1966), the short stories *Koloroj* (Warsaw: Pola Esperanto-Asocio, 1960), and the important novels *Viktimoj* and *Sur Sanga Tero* (1925 and 1933; republished in a single volume, Copenhagen: TK, 1971). The short novel *Printempo en Aŭtuno* was also recently reprinted (1931; Aabyhøj: DEF, 1972). Also particularly noteworthy among Baghy's works are a full-length verse play *Sonĝe sub Pomarbo* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1956), and the novel *Hura!* (Budapest: Literatura Mondo, 1930).

182. Of the writers around Kalocsay and Baghy, Lajos Tárkony (b. 1902) wrote under the name Ludoviko Totsche in the interwar years. His collected poems appeared in 1964 as *Soifo* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1964). Ferenc Szilagyi (1895-1967) published most of his prose works after he left Hungary to live in Sweden: *La Granda Aventuro* (Stockholm: Eldona Socieo Esperanto, 1945), *Inter Sudo kaj Nordo* (Stockholm: Eldona Socieo Esperanto, 1950) and *Koko Krias Jam* (1955; rpt. Budapest: HEA, 1976) are collections of short stories. *Mistero Minora* (Kopenhago: Koko, 1958) is a novel. *Trans la Fabeloceano* (1931; rpt. Aabyhøj: DEF, 1972) is a collection of fables. We have already had occasion to mention Sándor Szathmári (1897-1974), whose novel *Vojaĝo al Kazohinio*, written in the 1930's, appeared in 1957 (see 171). His short stories *Maŝinmondo* (La Laguna: Régulo) appeared in 1964.

183. The work of Eŭgeno Miĥalski (1897-1937?), leading poet of the Soviet School, has never been collected in satisfactory form, and much of his work has been lost. *Prologo* (Leipzig: SAT, 1929) and *Fajro Kuracas* (Leipzig: EKRELO, 1932) are the best of his small collections of poems. See also the critical essay by William Auld, "Pasio-Pasivo," *NLR*, 1 (1955-56), 20-26. His contemporary Nikolaj Hohlov (1890-1953) published one important collection of poetry, *La Tajdo* (Köln: Heroldo de Esperanto, 1928).

184 The Frenchman Raymond Schwartz (1894-1973) is best known as a writer of humorous verse, sketches and short stories, but was also a major novelist (see 171). Collections of his lighter works include *Verdkata Testamento* (1926; rpt. Aabyhøy: DEF, 1974), *La Stranga Butiko* (1931; rpt. Aabyhøy: DEF, 1975), *La Ĉoja Podio* (1949; rpt. Aabyhøy: DEF, 1975) and *Kun Siaspeca Spico* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1972). *Vole...Novele* (Kopenhago: TK, 1971) is a collection of Schwartz's short stories, including those from *Prozo Ridetanta*, a smaller collection published in 1928. *Anni kaj Montmartre* (1930; rpt. Aabyhøy: DEF, 1974) is a short novel.

185 In addition to Schwartz, two other novelists of the interwar period made important contributions — the Dutchman H. J. Bulthuis with his novels *Idoj de Orfeo* (Den Haag: the author, 1923) and *La Vila Mano* (Den Haag: Ykema, 1928), and the Polish writer Jan Fethke (b. 1903), who, under the name Jean Forge, has published three talented and readable novels (rpt. Helsinki: Fondumo Esperanto, 1973): *Abismoj* (1923), *Saltego trans Jarmiloj* (1924) and *Mister Tot Aĉetas Mil Okulojn* (1931). Two collections of entertaining short stories deal with the Esperanto movement: *La Verda Raketo* (1961; rpt. Helsinki: Fondumo Esperanto, 1973) and *Mia Verda Breviero* (Helsinki: Fondumo Esperanto, 1974). The Swedish novelist Stellan Engholm (1899-1960), like Forge, bridges the interwar years and the modern period. His fictional village Torento is the setting for four short novels: *Al Torento* (1930; rpt. Aabyhøj: DEF, 1972), *Infanoj en Torento* (1934; rpt. Aabyhøj: DEF, 1972), *Junuloj en Torento* (1939; rpt. Aabyhøj: DEF, 1972) and *Vivo Vokas* (Stockholm: Soc. Esp., 1946). He wrote one other novel, *Homoj sur la Tero* (1931; 2nd ed., La Laguna: Régulo, 1963) and a number of short stories, and was also well known as editor and translator.

186 The publication of *Kvaropo* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1952) by four poets of the so-called Scottish School, William Auld (b. 1924), Reto Rossetti (b. 1909), J. S. Dinwoodie (b. 1904) and John Francis (b. 1924), had double significance: not only did it usher on to the international scene a group of major poets but it also brought the publishing house of Juan Régulo Perez, a leading figure in modern Esperanto literature, to prominence. Auld's work has developed along four principal lines — as editor (most recently of *La Brita Esperantisto*), as translator, as critic, and — above all — as poet. His long poem *La Infana Raso* (1956, 2nd ed., with notes, La Laguna: Régulo, 1968) establishes his claim as arguably the best poet of the present generation. Since then two further collections of poetry have appeared: *Unufingraj Melodioj* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1960) and *Humoroj* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1969). In addition to his brilliant translation of *Othello* (172), Rossetti has published one further collection of poems, *Pinta Krajono* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1959) and a volume of short stories, *El la Maniko* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1955), and collaborated with Auld on *Angla Antologio* (170) and Szilagyi on *La Esperanta Novelarto* (170). *Vitralo* (La Laguna: Regulo, 1960) is a brilliant collection of short stories by Francis. His massive novel *La Granda Kaldrono* is to be published shortly.

187 Marjorie Boulton (b. 1924) is one of the finest of the lyric poets of the postwar period. Her important collections *Kontralte* and *Eroj* appeared in 1955 and 1959 respectively, both from Regulo. A lighter volume, *Cent Ĉojkantoj*, appeared in 1957 (Stoke-on-Trent: the author). Boulton has also written plays (*Virino ĉe la Landlimo*, Copenhagen: Koko, 1959) and short stories (*Okuloj*, La Laguna: Régulo, 1967), and she and Auld have recently published a collection of beautifully crafted rondels *Rimleteroj* (Manchester: Esperantaj Kajeroj, 1976). Other poets of the modern period particularly worthy of attention include the Icelander Baldur Ragnarsson (b. 1930), author of *Ŝtupoj sen Nomo* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1959) and *Esploroj* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1973), and the South African Edwin de Kock (b. 1930). De Kock has published five volumes of verse: *Ombroj de la Kvara Dimensio* (La

Laguna: Régulo, 1961), *Fajro sur Mia Lango* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1967), *Poemoj kaj Prozeroj* (Somerset West, South Africa: the author, 1970), *Kvin Elementoj* (Somerset West: the author, 1970), and *Plukonstrue* (Despatch, South Africa: the author, 1975). Both Ragnarsson and de Kock are difficult and important poets.

188. The poetry of Eli Urbanova (b. 1922) of Czechoslovakia is very different from that of de Kock or Ragnarsson—lyrical, warm. She has published one volume of verse, *Nur Tri Koloroj n* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1960). The Brazilian Geraldo Mattos (b. 1931) revealed himself as a major talent in *Miniaturoj* (Rio de Janeiro: Kultura Kooperativo de Esperantistoj, 1959). Since then two further volumes of poems have appeared to confirm this earlier promise: *Arĉoj* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1967) and *Ritmoj de Vivo* (Rio de Janeiro: Kultura Kooperativo de Esperantistoj, 1968).

189. Good prose writers have been less abundant among recent authors in Esperanto than have poets. The Japanese Masao Miyamoto (b. 1913) published his partly fictional biographies of Japanese artists *Pri Arto kaj Morto* in 1967 (Kameoka: Esperanto-Kenkjuŝa). He is also well known as editor and translator. An outstanding position as an Esperanto stylist belongs to Tibor Sekelj, of Yugoslavia (b. 1912) whose travel book *Nepalo Malfermas la Pordon* appeared in 1960 (La Laguna: Régulo). Since then Sekelj has published a collection of short stories, *Premiitaj kaj Aliaj Noveloj* (Zagreb: Internacia Kultura Servo, 1974). His book on Nepal also appeared in an English translation, as *Window on Nepal*, tr. Marjorie Boulton (London: Routledge, 1959). The Norwegian Johan Hammond Rosbach (b. 1921) is a writer of particularly successful and entertaining short stories, published in four collections to date: *Bagatelaro* (Oslo: Esperantoforlaget, 1951), *Homoj kaj Riveroj* (Copenhagen: Koko, 1957), *La Mirinda Eliksiro* (Aabyhøj: DEF, 1968) and *Disko* (Aabyhøj: DEF, 1970).

190. Two other leading cultural figures are less easy to categorize. Ivo Lapenna, from 1964 to 1974 President of UEA, is not only an activist for Esperanto but also a talented prose stylist and orator. His *Retoriko* (1950; 3rd ed., Rotterdam: the author, 1971) is among the best known of the Esperanto works of the last quarter-century. A selection of his speeches and lectures appeared in 1966 (see 144). Lapenna was born in Yugoslavia and now lives in Britain. Gaston Waringhien, of France (b. 1901) is the present President of the Esperanto Academy. He is well known as a specialist on Esperanto linguistics and literary studies, having collaborated with Kalocsay in *Parnasa Gvidlibro* (138) and *Plena Gramatiko de Esperanto* (118), as editor of Zamenhof's letters and other works (149), as translator of Baudelaire, Voltaire, Heine and others (172), and above all as literary critic (177) and lexicographer (127). In addition to *Eseoj I* and *Lingvo kaj Vivo*, major contributions to Esperanto letters, he has also published a philosophical work, *Ni kaj Ĉi* (La Laguna: Régulo, 1972).

191. Our survey of major authors has of necessity been somewhat disjointed. It also gives a distorted picture, because selection of major authors from among hundreds invites misleading comparisons, and because many important works by perhaps less important authors have been omitted. It was calculated a few years ago that books in Esperanto appear at the rate of about one a week. Régulo alone has published over eighty titles in literature and related fields.

3. Esperanto and Comparative Literature.

192 The role that Esperanto might play as a medium for the comparison of national literatures has been a subject of interest to several critics, notably Waringhien and Auld. Both as a cultural force in its own right and as a neutral bridge between cultures (roles of course potentially conflicting), Esperanto seems to have a claim to the serious attention of comparatists. See Gaston Waringhien, "Esperanto kaj la Kompara Literaturo," in *Eseoj I* (La Laguna: Stafeto, 1956), pp. 119-23, and William Auld, *Facetoj de Esperanto* (London: BEA, 1976).

193 The translation of literature into Esperanto has naturally raised theoretical questions concerning the cultural and linguistic transfer of ideas from a national language to an international one (see 167). There has, however, been little systematic effort to use the translated literature of Esperanto for comparatist purposes, perhaps because the critical vocabulary (and indeed the critical norms) can come into being only slowly. Contributions in this last regard have been made by Waringhien and Kalocsay, in their *Parnasa Cvidlibro* (138) and, to a lesser extent, by the controversial work on metrics by Brendon Clark, *Kien la Poezio?* (Rickmansworth: EPC, 1957). See also K. Kalocsay, "La Klasika Metriko kaj Esperanto," *NLR*, 4 (1958-59), 164-71, 208-19; 5 (1959-60), 5-17, 48-57. Wilhelm Theodor Oeste, *Esperanto Mittler der Weltliteratur* (München: Ziegler, 1952) compares translations of a number of poems into German and Esperanto.

194 There are a few histories of national literatures available in Esperanto. Many of the national anthologies (see 174) also include historical introductions, of varying quality.

4. The Periodical Press.

195 Much of the best writing in Esperanto lies hidden in magazines. Periodicals have always played an important part in the Esperanto movement since they are one of the main means by which an isolated public keeps itself informed, improves its linguistic knowledge and participates in the propagation of the language. Traditionally, most of the national associations and specialized groups have had their own periodicals (see 159), and there are numerous magazines and newspapers serving special interests or various cultural functions. By their very nature they are many of them ephemeral, the work of amateurs with very limited resources.

196 While good collections of Esperanto periodicals are rare indeed, and almost impossible to assemble *de novo*, large research libraries sometimes have quite big holdings from the early years. The very first general periodical in Esperanto was *La Esperantisto*, founded in 1889 and edited by Zamenhof himself. When it ceased publication in 1895 (a victim of the Russian censor), its place was taken by *Lingvo Internacia*, which continued to appear up to the First World War. The journal *Esperanto* was founded in 1905 and became the official journal of UEA when the Association was set up in 1908. *La Revuo*, the principal literary magazine of the period, began publication in 1906 in Paris, and continued in existence until 1914. These three magazines — *Lingvo Internacia*, *Esperanto* and *La Revuo* — are essential items for the researcher. To them should be added the *Oficiala Gazeto Esperantista*, published in Paris between 1908 and 1922.

197 *Esperanto Triumfonta*, from 1925 *Heroldo de Esperanto*, was founded in Germany in 1920 by Teo Jung. Now edited in Belgium, *Heroldo* is firmly established as the principal general-interest newspaper in Esperanto. For many years it had a rival in *La Praktiko*,

designed principally for beginners. Founded in 1930, *La Praktiko* ceased publication in 1970. *Kontakto*, which began publication in 1963, is the most recent of a number of magazines for young people, its immediate predecessor being *La Juna Vivo*, which began in 1934 and ceased independent publication in the 1950's.

198. The most important cultural periodical in Esperanto's history was undoubtedly *Literatura Mondo*, whose shaky existence extended through three separate publishing periods (1922-26, 1931-38, 1947-49) and numerous financial crises. Published in Budapest, the magazine was the focal point for the so-called Budapest School. The entire collection is once again available, in a Japanese reprint. Among other literary magazines mention should be made of the British publication *Literaturo* (1919-25), and *La Suda Stelo*, published in Yugoslavia from 1932 to 1960 (except for the war years). *Malgranda Revuo* appeared in Sweden from 1942 to 1952, when its place was taken by *Norda Prismo* (1955 to 1973), which has in turn yielded to *Literatura Foiro*. This last began publication in 1970 in Italy.

199. Exceptionally important in the history of Esperanto studies was the relatively brief life of *Nica Literatura Revuo* (1955-62), edited by Gaston Waringhien. In some measure its place has been taken by the larger and more imposing *Hungara Vivo*, which was founded in 1961 and is published by HEA. Less successful was UEA's ambitious *Monda Kulturo*, founded in 1962 but abandoned in 1966 for financial reasons. The Japanese cultural magazine *L'Omnibuso* began publication in 1964.

200. Esperanto has a long history as a medium of scholarly communication. It is used for summaries in several scholarly periodicals (see 216, below) and academic publications entirely in Esperanto include *Biblia Revuo* (founded 1964) and *Scienca Revuo* (founded 1949). *Scienca Revuo* had several predecessors, including *Internacia Scienca Revuo* (1904-11) and *Scienca Gazeto* (1912-14). The periodical on Esperanto studies *Esperantologio* was published from 1949 to 1961, with articles in several languages, under the editorship of Paul Neergaard. *LPLP* (6), founded in 1968, carries articles on various topics related to the study of language problems, with extensive summaries in Esperanto.

201. Political periodicals in Esperanto, representing many persuasions, are scattered throughout the history of the language. *Sennaciulo*, the official organ of SAT, was founded in 1924. Since 1952 SAT has also published an annual cultural magazine *Sennacieca Revuo*. Among official or semi-official magazines in Esperanto published by national governments, *El Popola Ĉinio*, published by the People's Republic of China, has the longest history (1950-53 and 1957 to the present). At various times the governments of the German Federal Republic, North Vietnam, Bulgaria and Japan have also produced magazines in Esperanto.

202. Visitors to libraries in English-speaking countries are most likely to find *The British Esperantist* (*BE*), founded by BEA in 1905 and still in existence, and *American Esperanto Magazine*, founded in 1906. *AEM* became the official journal of the Esperanto Association of North America (EANA) and continued publication until 1965. When EANA became actively anti-communist, in 1953 a new neutralist organization was founded in the U. S., the Esperanto League for North America (ELNA). For many years its official journal was the *North American Esperanto Review* (*NAER*), now replaced by the *ELNA Newsletter*. Like the *BE*, both *NAER* and *AEM* carried texts in both Esperanto and English. Recently *BE* has become exclusively Esperanto and has been joined by a second BEA publication, in English, *Esperanto News*. This is not the first BEA publication in English: for a number of years following the First World War the Association published an information bulletin entitled *International Language*, partly in English and partly in Esperanto. Other Esperanto magazines in English-speaking countries include: *Esperanto en Skotlando* (from 1948), *The*

Worker Esperantist (Britain; from 1935), *The Australian Esperantist* (from 1940), *Lumo* (Canada; from 1962), *New Zealand Esperantist* (from 1929), and *Esperanto Teacher* (Britain; from 1939).

203. The best survey of the Esperanto press is provided by Carlevaro in *Esperanto en Perspektivo* (142). See also Haupenthal (111), pp. 37-40 and the CRD Document "An Historical Survey of the Esperanto Press and its Position in 1959," F/I/1 (1959). Current details on Esperanto magazines are available in the Yearbook of UEA (160).

Chapter 6. Esperanto in Society.

1. Esperanto as a Schools Subject

204. According to statistics compiled by CRD ("Survey of the Number of Schools Teaching Esperanto in 1968/9," Doc. B/IV/15, 1971), in the academic year 1968-9 Esperanto was being taught in at least 543 schools in 31 countries. The arguments for the teaching of Esperanto in schools have been cogently set forth in a CRD Document by R.H.M. Markarian, "The Educational Value of Esperanto Teaching in the Schools" (B/I/2, 1964). See also Doris Vallon, "Teaching the Universal Language," *California Teachers Association Journal* (May 1968; reprinted in the *Congressional Record*, Sept. 17, 1968, p. E8013f.), and William P. Simpson, "Viability of Esperanto," *Bulletin of the Pennsylvania State MLA*, 46 (1967-68), 51-52. There is a short section on an international language as a schools subject in Neagley and Evans, *Handbook for Effective Curriculum Development* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1967). See also Pol Denoel's booklet *L'espéranto dans l'enseignement* (Liège: Fondation Maurice Jaumotte-Locquet, 1968).

205. It is usually agreed that Esperanto provides an opportunity for genuinely transnational experience and that its relative ease of learning quickly brings students to a level at which they can put it to practical use. The question of ease of learning is investigated in an interesting report by the Division of Psychology, Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, Columbia University. The study, *Language Learning: Summary of a Report to the International Auxiliary Language Association* (New York: Teachers College, 1933), suggests that Esperanto is considerably more easily acquired by American children than a second national language.

206. Because of the simplicity of its basic structure, Esperanto may be well suited as an introduction to the learning of other foreign languages. Such are the conclusions of the following articles: A. Fisher, "Modern Languages by Way of Esperanto," *Modern Languages*, 2 (1921), 179-82; J. H. Halloran, "A Four Year Experiment in Esperanto as an Introduction to French," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 22 (1952), 200-204; István Szerdahelyi, "Esperanto et propédeutique linguistique," *Langues Modernes*, 60 (1966), 255-259. Extensive studies of this and related topics are now being undertaken under the direction of Dr. Szerdahelyi. For a good general summary of the present situation, see Richard Wood's important article, "Teaching the Interlanguage: Some Experiments," *Lektos* (U. of Louisville), Special Issue (1975), 61-81. On a related topic see the interesting and still relevant essay by Ernest Dodge, "Esperanto, Instrument of Mental Training," *Education*, 61 (1941), 301-17 (reprinted in Johnsen: see 26).

207. The teaching of Esperanto in schools really began after the First World War. Understandably, it has been the subject of investigation by numerous professional and official bodies. Particularly interesting in this connection are: a Report to the Council of the Parents League of New York, *A Preliminary Investigation of the Teaching of Auxiliary Languages in Schools* (New York: The League, 1927), and *Teaching of the International Language Esperanto*, a report to the Committee on Cultural and Scientific Questions of the Council of Europe (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1956: Report no. AS/CS (8) 2). The latter is available from BEA. Note also several contributions of BEA to the Annual Conference of Educational Associations, printed in the Conference Proceedings: "Esperanto as a Factor in Education" (1921), "Esperanto in the School" (1922), "Place of Esperanto in Modern Education" (1924), "The Educational Value of Esperanto" (1926) and "Esperanto in the World Today" (1927). See also 43 and 220.

208. A survey of the teaching of Esperanto in universities is included in Lapenna's *Esperanto en Perspektivo* (142). See also Richard E. Wood, "Proceedings of the Symposium on the Teaching of Esperanto at United States Universities and Colleges," *LMLP*, 4 (1972), 159-74.

2. Teaching and Learning Esperanto.

209. The IAAM's *Teaching of Modern Languages* (London: U. of London Press, rev. ed. 1967) contains a short section on Esperanto and a good bibliography. Also valuable for the age group in question is Lavina M. Parsons's dissertation "An Esperanto Curriculum Guide for Elementary Schools" (San Francisco State College, 1963). But the most valuable material for curriculum planning and teaching techniques is of course in Esperanto. Rudolf Rakuša's *Metodiko de la Esperanto-Instruado* (Ljubljana: Mladinska Knjiga, 1970) is wide-ranging and intelligently presented. István Szerdahelyi's *Metodologio de Esperanto* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1975) is a sophisticated exposition of modes of instruction and their linguistic bases. See also P. Zlatnar, ed., *Esperanto en Lernejo* (Ljubljana: Slovenia Esperanto-Ligo, 1959) and the teachers' periodical (published by ILEI) *Internacia Pedagogia Revuo*.

210. The Esperanto Book Service, of ELNA, publishes a useful list of learning aids — textbooks, dictionaries and so on. Available from ELNA is Duncan Charters's brief but valuable "Konsiloj por la Instruisto de Esperanto." Helpful ideas can also be gleaned from the Bulletin of the American Association of Teachers of Esperanto and from *Esperanto Teacher*, published by the Esperanto Teachers' Association (Britain). *Esperanto Teacher* is a particularly valuable source of information on all aspects of Esperanto teaching.

211. Experience in the teaching of Esperanto in schools varies, and the style of individual teachers varies. Hence it is difficult to provide a useful survey of available textbooks. *Secondary School Esperanto*, by R. H. M. Markarian and J. H. Sullivan (2 vols., London: University Tutorial Press, 1968-71) is generally highly regarded, but obviously best suited to British schools. A tape is available to accompany the first volume. William Auld's *Paŝoj al Plena Posedo* (Brussels: Heroldo de Esperanto, 1968) is a reader for more advanced students, with exercises.

212. Mason Stuttard's brief *The Esperanto Teacher* (Rickmansworth: EPC, 1954) forms the basis for a collection of materials including additional exercises and texts, available from ELNA. A. G. Batt's *School Esperanto Course* (Rickmansworth: EPC, 1946) provides a traditional approach. Among the numerous textbooks using Esperanto only, G. G. Solomon's reader *Esperanto por Infanoj* (Rickmansworth: EPC, 1956 and later editions) is

spirited and popular, István Szerdahelyi's direct-method textbooks *Esperanto I* (3rd ed., Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1972) and its continuation *Eszperantó Nyelvkönyv 2* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1968) are thorough and imaginatively laid out, and Andrzej Pettyn's *Ĉu Vi Parolas Esperante?* (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1969) makes a useful supplementary textbook. The *SAT-Junulkurso* (Paris: SAT, 1957), with textbook and records, has been used with success in the United States, and supplementary materials are available from ELNA. (For the main listing on textbooks, see 109.)

3. Science and Esperanto.

213. As early as 1903, Zamenhof's compilation of model Esperanto texts, *Fundamenta Krestomatio* (17th ed., Rickmansworth: EPC, 1954), included several scientific texts. This was the period in which the dream of using Esperanto as the language of science occupied many peoples's attention, particularly under the influence of the French intellectuals who assumed the leadership of the Esperanto movement in the early years of the century (see also the volume *International Language and Science*, 46). The foundation of Internacia Scienca Asocio Esperantista in 1906 gave these efforts focus and drive, but over the years Esperanto has not achieved the status in this field that its adepts would wish, primarily because of the constant need to update and expand technical vocabulary, whose development has not kept pace with that for example in English. Nevertheless, Esperanto has produced an extensive scientific literature and numerous dictionaries and glossaries for technical use. Paul Neergaard's "Retrospect on the Scientific Application of Esperanto" (CRD, E/I/1, 1961) summarizes this achievement. See also T. J. Gueritte's pamphlet *Esperanto in the Field of Engineering* (London, 1934).

214. Among the numerous publications on science existing in Esperanto, *Sciencaj Studoj*, ed. Paul Neergaard (Copenhagen: ISAE, 1958), which brings together a wide range of studies from many disciplines, provides the best material by which to judge the suitability of Esperanto for scientific discourse. Also worthy of mention is the collection of lectures from the 10th International Seminar of the (West) German Esperanto Youth, *La Mondpercepto de la Modernaj Naturscioncoj*, ed. H. Behrmann (Nürnberg: Pickel, 1967). In recent years the Summer University Courses, held in Esperanto every second year in Belgium, have begun publishing textbooks, among them M. Flint, *Porfirinoj: Biokemio de Vivnecesaj Pigmentoj* (1974); B. M. Cavanaugh, *Elektrolitoj* (1974); C. Stop-Bowitz, *Enkonduko en Ĝeneralan Biologion* (1974), and S. Kawamura, *Enkonduko en Organikan kaj Biologian Kemion* (1974).

215. A bibliography of scientific, and particularly medical, articles in Esperanto would run into thousands of items. Carlevaro's discussion of the subject in *Esperanto en Perspektivo* (142) will give some idea of the range of this material. The dictionaries and glossaries on which much of this effort is based are catalogued in R. Haferkorn's "Scientific, Technical and Other Special Dictionaries in Esperanto" (CRD, E/V/1, 1962, with supplement E/V/2, 1964). See also Haferkorn's article "Por Plana Evoluigo de la Faka Lingvo," *Esperanto*, 69 (1976), 21-22, the bibliographies mentioned in 134, above, and William Solzbacher, "Technical Vocabularies in Esperanto," *American Esperanto Magazine*, 63 (1949), 97-120.

216. This section would be incomplete without some mention of the extensive literature of popular science in Esperanto. The magazine *Homo kaj Kosmo* is representative of this body of material. Produced by a group of young Yugoslav astronomers, it presents popular articles on astronomy and related sciences. We should also mention the use of Esperanto for abstracts in learned journals. See "The Use of Esperanto in Scientific and Technical Periodicals" (CRD, E/IV/3, 1965), and the relevant section in *Esperanto en Perspektivo* (142).

4. Practical Applications

217. A distinction favored by advocates of Esperanto is that between work "*por* Esperanto," *for* Esperanto, and work "*per* Esperanto," *by means of* Esperanto. Understandably the second has attracted a great deal of attention over the years. To it we owe, for example, the creation of the various international specialist organizations in Esperanto. Indeed, in some measure the history of the practical application of Esperanto is the history of its specialist organizations. Much of this history has still to be written, though there exist good studies of some of the religious and political organizations, among them H. A. de Hoog, *Nia Historio: Kristana Esperantista Ligo Internacia de 1911-1961* (KELI, 1964), *Historio de SAT 1921-1952* (Paris: SAT, 1953), and E. Itoo and others, *Kvindek Jaroj de Esperanto en Oomoto* (Kameoka: Oomoto, 1973). Marek Wajsblum has written the history of the use of Esperanto among railway workers in *Historio de la Fervojista Esperanto Movado 1908-1968* (Amsterdam: IFEF, 1968), and the history of Esperanto Scouting is presented in F. Douglas Murphy's *Orjubileo de Skolta Esperantista Ligo 1918-1968* (Ipswich: SEL, 1968).

218. Esperanto radio programs are the subject of a study by H. Tonkin and G. Larglantier, "Esperanto on the Air: A Half-Century of Broadcasting in the International Language 1922-75," *ED* 7-A (1976). On commerce and industry see Bruno Vogelmann, ed., *Esperanto in Commerce: Findings from an Enquiry into Business Entreprises Using Esperanto Regularly* (Crailsheim: Esperanto-Rondo, 1962) and J. Tensen, "Adresaro de Firmaoj kaj Entreprenoj, en kiuj oni uzas Esperanton," in *Jarlibro de UEA*, vol. 2, 1962 (see 160). Several firms publish advertising and promotional materials in Esperanto. See, for example, *Modernaj Tendencoj kaj Evoluoj en Medicinaj Sistemoj*, published by the Medical Systems Division of Philips (Eindhoven, Netherlands, 1971) and the vocabulary published by Fiat (Section 133, above). An early examination of its suitability for commerce can be found in Charles H. Edmonds, *Commercial Conference at Venice: Report of the Delegate of the London Chamber of Commerce* (London, 1923).

219. Tourism has always been associated with Esperanto: the language tends to attract those who like to travel. In consequence numerous guidebooks, geographical works and handbooks on individual countries have been published in Esperanto, and the language is frequently used for tourist brochures and leaflets. In recent years handbooks on the German Federal Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Netherlands, Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, Japan and a number of other countries have appeared in Esperanto.

5. Esperanto and International Organizations

220. The use of Esperanto in international organizations and conferences has had a complex and on the whole unsatisfactory history. While numerous specialized conferences on any number of subjects have taken place in Esperanto throughout its history, and while some non-governmental organizations include Esperanto among their working languages or even use Esperanto exclusively, its adoption by a major intergovernmental body has so far eluded the efforts of its advocates. The history of Esperanto at the League of Nations (where it came close to adoption) and at Unesco (where the work of the Esperanto movement was found to be in accord with the aims and ideals of Unesco) is the subject of a study by Ivo Lapenna, "The Common Language Question before International Organizations," *LMLP*, 2 (1970), 83-102, 3 (1971), 11-30. See also *Esperanto as an International Auxiliary Language*: Report of the General Secretariat of the League of Nations adopted by the Third Assembly (Geneva, 1922), and "Unesco and the UEA: The Contribution of the Universal Esperanto Association to the Work of Unesco, 1954-74," *ED*, 1-A (1975). The active interest of the

League of Nations in Esperanto in the early 1920's led to favorable attention from a number of other organizations, among them the American Association for the Advancement of Science: see the report of its Committee on an International Auxiliary Language in *Science*, 55 (1922), 166-9 (cf. 43, above).

221. On Esperanto as the language of the European Community see W. Bormann "Die Einigung Europas und ihr Sprachenproblem." *Dokumente-Informationen* 2 (German Esperanto Association).

6. The Future of Esperanto

222. Many general works on language and linguistics make passing reference to the search for an international language and comment, sometimes positively, sometimes skeptically, sometimes with active hostility, on Esperanto and its future. For the most part these works are relatively uninformed about the language — with a few notable exceptions — and are even less informed about the state of the Esperanto movement. Fortunately, there are indications that this situation is changing — that the language is gaining more active attention from serious scholars. Yet the future of Esperanto will be decided not among the world's linguists but by the political and cultural realities of today's world. A proven medium of international communication through ninety years, the International Language may be deficient in this or that detail, or may lack this or that useful feature, but such questions will have little effect on the willingness of the nations of the world actually to put it to use in international contacts and introduce it into their schools.

223. Although Esperanto-speaking linguists do occasionally discuss ways in which Esperanto might be made still more effective, most speakers of Esperanto turn their attention to political and social questions. This is the main thrust of Werner Bormann's essays on the present state and future prospects of Esperanto, *Bona Sanco* (La Laguna: Regulo, 1970) and Jo Haazen's brief commentary *Konsideroj* (Antwerp: the author, 1974). It is Lapenna's main message in the short final section of *Esperanto en Perspektivo* (142) and it is the burden of many of the discussions of Esperanto by non-speakers of Esperanto mentioned in the early chapters.

In the meantime, it is important that we understand the nature and claims of Esperanto in their linguistic, cultural and social context. That has been the purpose of this bibliography.

ADVICE TO THE STUDENT

Obtaining Texts from Your Library

Although some of the items listed in this bibliography are standard fare in major research libraries, many are not. And the student working at a local library may have real difficulties in certain of the areas described. If you find that your library does not have the text you need, you should turn to Interlibrary Loans as the first solution to the problem; your librarian will be glad to explain how this national system works. You may want to suggest that your library buy the missing item. All libraries of any comprehensiveness should have at least Wells's dictionary (110, above), Cresswell and Hartley's *Teach Yourself Esperanto* (109) and several of the books on language mentioned in our first chapter. Larger libraries should be able to offer at least Waringhien's dictionary (110), Stojan's bibliography (112), Munniksma's commercial dictionary (133), Auld's poetry anthology (170), and the periodical *LPLP* (6).

Esperanto Libraries

While most research libraries are relatively weak on Esperanto holdings, there are several libraries devoted exclusively to Esperanto. All are in Europe. BEA has the largest, situated close to central London. There are large collections in Rotterdam (UEA) and at the International Esperanto Museum, Hofburg, Vienna. Of university libraries with Esperanto holdings, the largest collection is at the University of Amsterdam. Write to ESF (see above) for suggestions about financial aid to visit these libraries. The best collections in this country (none of them very comprehensive) are probably those at the New York Public Library, the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, the University of Louisville, the University of Michigan, the University of Illinois, and Harvard University. On language problems, the library of the Center for Applied Linguistics, Arlington, Virginia, is particularly strong.

Buying Esperanto Books

The Esperanto League for North America, P. O. Box 1129, El Cerrito, CA 94530, runs an excellent Book Service and can supply most items listed in this bibliography, if they are still in print. Write for lists. Good book services are also run by the British Esperanto Association, 140 Holland Park Avenue, London W11 4UF, and by the Universal Esperanto Association, Nieuwe Binnenweg 176, Rotterdam 3002, Netherlands. ELNA, BEA and UEA all carry such series as the *Esperanto Documents* and the documents of CRD, and subscriptions for some Esperanto magazines can be placed through them. Commercial booksellers generally do not carry Esperanto books in any quantity, and most of those published abroad are not listed in *Books in Print*. ELNA, BEA and UEA also handle wholesale orders. (UEA can correspond in English).

Finding Out More About Esperanto

The three organizations mentioned above are the best sources for information on Esperanto. Leaflets and so on are often available free of charge. The following organizations in other countries can also provide information in English: Australian Esperanto Association, Box 415, P.O. Manly, N.S.W. 2095; Canadian Esperanto Association, P.O.B. 174, Roxboro, Que H8A 3E9; Indian Institute of Esperanto, P.O. Box 604, New Delhi 1; Maltese Esperanto Society, 122 Old Governor's Palace Street, Vittoriosa; New Zealand Esperanto Association, P.O. Box 330, Wellington 1; South African Esperanto Association, P.O. Box 1227, Cape Town 8000.

Finding Out More About Language Problems

Those seriously interested in the topic should consider subscribing to the inexpensive *Linguistic Reporter*, of the Center for Applied Linguistics, 1611 North Kent Street, Arlington, VA 22209. Bibliographical information can also be obtained from the Centre for Research and Documentation on the World Language Problem through its Acting Director, Professor Jonathan Pool, Department of Political Science, DO-30, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195. CRD is always anxious to hear of ongoing research in the area of language problems. So, too, is the Esperantic Studies Foundation, 6451 Barnaby Street NW, Washington, DC 20015.

Making Contact with Esperanto Researchers

The Esperantic Studies Foundation (see above) will give advice and help to scholars planning serious research on Esperanto. They might also contact the Esperanto Studies Association of America, whose members include most of those active in the field of Esperanto studies. For information on ESAA, write Professor Humphrey Tonkin, Department of English, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104. If you undertake large-scale research, do obtain advice first. Lack of bibliographical resources, the fact that there are very few genuinely qualified experts in the field, and the relative novelty of the subject all make personal contact with specialists essential.

Learning Esperanto

Textbooks, records and tapes can be obtained from ELNA, BEA and UEA (see "Buying Esperanto Books," above). ELNA and BEA can also provide information on courses being offered in cities in their countries, correspondence courses, and courses by radio. For those teaching themselves, UEA runs a correspondence service whereby new Esperanto speakers can make contact with users in other countries. Write to UEA for details of membership (UEA's agent in the U.S. is Mr. Armin Doneis, Box 105, Pharr, TX 78577).

Choosing a Topic for Your Paper

Advanced researchers are referred to Tonkin, "Introduction to Esperanto Studies" (see above, 106), for suggestions. They might also write to ESF (see above). High school and college students may want to write to ELNA for suggestions. Topics manageable for the student with a small library include "The Structure of Esperanto" or "Esperanto as a Solution to Language Problems" or "English as a World Language." If you have a larger library at your disposal, topics such as "Language Problems in the Modern World" or "Esperanto as a Literary Language" or "The Present State of the Esperanto Movement" present good possibilities. Send a copy of your finished paper to ELNA!

Improving This Bibliography

This bibliography has been compiled to help you. ESF and ELNA welcome suggestions for improvements, criticisms, and information about errors or missing items.

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